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HISTORY

OF THE

BATTLE OF AGINCOURT.

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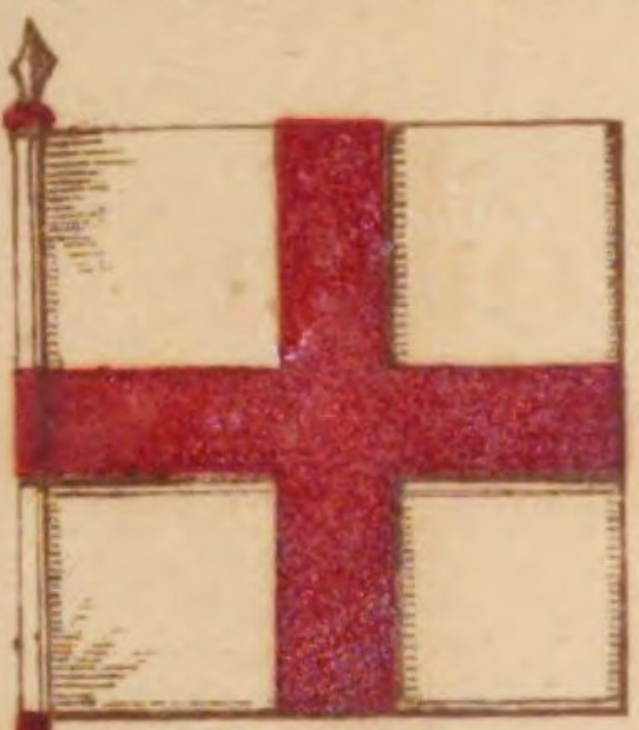

St. George.

St. Edward.

St. Edmund.

Trinity.

King Henry V.

France.

Oriflamme.

BANNERS BORNE AT THE BATTLE OF AGINCOURT.

HISTORY

OF THE

BATTLE OF AGINCOURT,

AND OF

THE EXPEDITION

OF

HENRY THE FIFTH INTO FRANCE,

In 1415;

TO WHICH IS ADDED,

The Roll of the Men at Arms,

IN THE ENGLISH ARMY.

By SIR HARRIS NICOLAS, K.H.

SECOND EDITION.

LONDON:

PUBLISHED BY JOHNSON & Co. 10, BROOKE STREET, HOLBORN,

AND SOLD BY ALL BOOKSELLERS.

MDCCCXXXII.

Nicolas
Battle of
Agincourt

305

BIBLIOTHECA
REGIA
MONACENSIS.

TO THE KING.

SIRE,

It is with profound sentiments of duty, veneration, and gratitude, that I presume to lay at your Majesty's feet, a revised and improved edition of the HISTORY OF THE BATTLE OF AGINCOURT, and of King Henry the Fifth's expedition into France, in the year 1415.

The lively interest which your Majesty has always evinced in the martial glory of England, induces me to hope that an account of one of the most memorable events in her annals, may be honored with your Majesty's gracious favor and protection.

I am,

SIRE,

Your Majesty's most humble and dutiful

Subject and Servant,

N. HARRIS NICOLAS.

May, 1832.

BARONS
OF
ARUNDEL

PREFACE.

An apology for the publication of a History of the Battle of Agincourt could scarcely be prefixed to it without conveying a tacit but severe reflection on the literary taste of the age, for if there be a subject that ought in an eminent degree to excite attention, it is a detailed account of an event which is identified with the military renown of this country. The late Bishop Nicholson truly observed in his "Historical Library," that Henry the Fifth's "single victory at Agincourt might have afforded matter for more volumes than have been written on his whole reign." Since that opinion was expressed, numerous historical documents of the first importance have been brought to light; and, as will be seen by the following pages, many of them present highly valuable information respecting Henry's first invasion of France. But even if no other data had been found, Bishop Nicholson's remark would not be less just, for a concentration of all recorded facts relative to that expedition was a desideratum which could only be supplied by a writer making it the sole object of his attention. Dr. Lingard, and Mr. Sharon Turner, have done as much as could be expected in illustration of it, but no one can be ignorant

of the difference between writing a history of a particular event, and the Herculean task of examining and relating every material transaction in the annals of this country, from the time of the Romans. The general historian of England can do little more than give a correct outline of the principal affairs; but it is the duty of a writer whose object is confined to one event, to introduce into his work every thing by which it can be illustrated. Individual conduct, letters, and all the usual materials for biography possess strong claims to his attention, and require to be woven, either entire or in parts into his narrative. It is only from such materials, from a critical examination of his authorities, and from a careful investigation of dates, distances, and minute facts, that he can hope to arrive at just conclusions, to reconcile conflicting testimony, or from the mass, sometimes of prejudiced, often of ignorant Chroniclers, to compose a true and consistent statement.

The cause which produced this work, as well as the plan upon which it has been written, will be briefly explained.

A research among the MSS. in the British Museum accidentally discovered a list of the Peers, Knights, and Men-at-Arms, who were present at Agincourt. From the interest which it possessed for their descendants, and still more from its containing data for estimating the amount of the English army on that occasion, it was printed,

and a few pages were intended to be prefixed to it containing a description of the Battle, so as to make a small tract; but it appeared that a history of that victory which would be at all deserving of the appellation, would form an ordinary sized volume. The original idea was therefore abandoned; and it was resolved to collect all which had been said by *contemporary* writers of both countries on the subject, together with an account of the preparations for the expedition, from the public records.

In the execution of this task, the plan of former historical works has been slightly deviated from; for instead of merely citing the authorities for each assertion, the authorities themselves are translated and given at length; to which the author has prefixed his own narrative, deduced from such contemporary statements as were consistent with each other and with truth.

The most valuable writer of the period is the anonymous Chronicler, or rather Historian, who is so continually referred to in the following pages, under the designation of the "Chronicler A." His labours have never been printed, but exist in the British Museum, in the Cottonian MS., Julius E. IV., and the Sloane MS. No. 1776. He was a priest, and, having accompanied the expedition, was, he expressly says, present at Agincourt, where "he sat on horseback with the other "priests, among the baggage in the rear of the "battle." His MS. is in Latin, and it has not, it

is believed, been cited by any other historian than Mr. Sharon Turner, and by him only in the octavo edition of his work. The part relating to the year 1415 has now been literally translated; and every word will be found which occurs from the day on which the fleet quitted England until Henry entered his palace at Westminster, after his return. The other inedited Chronicles of the time, including one which has been since published from the Harleian MS. 565, and entitled a "Chronicle of London," are inserted in the notes. Of the printed authorities the most accurate seems to be the History of Charles VI. by Jean le Fevre, Seigneur of St. Remy, who asserts that he was with the English army; and the circumstantial manner in which he relates what he saw carries with it evidence both of his veracity and powers of observation. The contemporary writers who are more generally known; namely, the biographer of Henry, who ambitiously styled himself "Titus Livius," Elmham, Walsingham, Hardyng, Otterbourne, Monstrelet, Pierre de Fenin, and especially Jean Juvenal des Ursins, and those edited by Monsr Laboureur have been copiously quoted, whilst most valuable information has been derived from the Fœdera, Rolls of Parliament and other Records. As, however, the authority for every assertion in the work is mentioned, a more detailed enumeration would be superfluous.

After briefly describing the grounds upon which Henry pretended to justify his invasion of

France, an account is given of the preparations for it, by levying men and *materiel* as well as by raising the necessary funds; and the minuteness of these particulars can scarcely fail to amuse the most general reader, and to excite the interest of antiquaries. From that, and other sources of scarcely less authenticity, every fact which could be discovered of Henry's proceedings previous to his embarkation at Southampton, including a notice of the conspiracy of the Duke of York and Lord Scrope, and until his return to England has been stated. The Roll of the Peers, Knights, and Men-at-Arms who were at Agincourt, which is printed from the Harleian MS. 782 has been collated with copies in the College of Arms, and in the Ashmolean Library, to which is added a list of the retinue of Henry the Fifth, compiled from the unpublished collections for the Fœdera, in the Sloane MS. No. 6400, from the Norman Rolls, and from other sources.

All the extracts from contemporary writers have been translated, and this apparently easy task was attended with difficulties which can only be believed by persons who have attempted to give a literal version of early Chroniclers, whether from the French or Latin of the middle ages: those difficulties are alluded to in extenuation of occasional ruggedness, and possibly also of occasional misconceptions in the translations.

To some, the rigid manner in which every authority is cited may wear the appearance of

pedantry; but the subjoined passage from the Quarterly Review, explains in better language than his own, the motives by which the author was actuated: "The intrinsic value of a History depends "upon the extent and accuracy of research dis- "played in its compilation; that extent can only be "marked, that accuracy can only be established, by "copious references. Notes are indispensable to "its existence; they are the guarantees for its trust- "worthiness; they are the only measure which the "reader possesses of the credulity or discrimination "of the writer. Without them he does not know "whether he is depending on the assertions of a "Dionysius or a Tacitus, and he may, for any "thing he knows to the contrary, be reposing on "the tales of the former that confidence which "he perhaps would be willing to concede only to "the philosophic narrative of the latter. The per- "sonal friends indeed of the historian may feel "satisfied that he would advance nothing as matter "of historic truth, except what he had attentively "examined and expressly believed; but what in- "ference will all other persons draw from a history "without note or reference? They will assuredly "never rest their belief on its assertion; they will "never receive its unsupported details as matter of "strict and conclusive evidence."[a]

If an author be permitted to anticipate that his work will be attended by any particular result, the hope may be expressed that this account of the

[a] Vol. xxvii. p. 307.

Battle of Agincourt will tend to remove the absurd impression that that victory must be contemplated with humiliating feelings in France. There is no truth with which the consideration of it has more deeply impressed him, than that the bravery, the exalted patriotism, and the chivalrous courage of the French character, instead of being tarnished, acquired new lustre on that memorable occasion. The French army was it is true, almost annihilated by scarcely a tenth of its numbers; but that defeat was the result of a concatenation of unfortunate circumstances, and left no just stain upon its military fame, beyond error in judgment on the part of its leaders.

The Author has derived most valuable assistance from his friends, John Gage, Esq., Charles George Young, Esq., York Herald, Michael Jones, Esq., and Sir Thomas Elmsley Croft, Bart., to whom, and more particularly to Mr. Gage, he offers his warmest thanks. He has also to make a similar acknowledgment to Sir Samuel Meyrick for many interesting notes and other illustrations; as well as to Frederick Madden, Esq., of the British Museum, for various useful suggestions.

These, with slight alterations, were the remarks prefixed to the first edition of the History of the Battle of Agincourt, nearly five years ago; but that impression being exhausted the author is enabled to submit to the public a revised, and, he flatters himself, a very improved edition.

Since the publication of the work it has been his constant object to collect additional information, and many particulars have been discovered, which throw new light on Henry's proceedings during the expedition, as well as upon the victory to which that monarch is indebted for his fame. But this is not the only advantage, which the present volume possesses over the former. Every statement has been collated with the authority upon which it stands, and the extracts from contemporary writers are more copious than in the first edition. The author's narrative has been entirely re-written, and the utmost pains have been taken to render the statements, which include many new and interesting facts, correct and impartial. Indeed he may with truth assert, that the labour bestowed on this edition has much exceeded that of the previous one; and as he has left no available source of information unconsulted, or neglected any means by which the work could be rendered what it ought to be, he trusts that this account of the Battle of Agincourt, may be deemed worthy of the great event which it is intended to commemorate.

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HISTORY

OF THE

Battle of Agincourt.

About the middle of the year 1414, Henry the Fifth, influenced by the persuasions of Chicheley, Archbishop of Canterbury; by the dying injunction of his royal father not to allow the kingdom to remain long at peace; or, more probably, by those feelings of ambition which were no less natural to his youth and personal character, than consonant with the manners of the times in which he lived, resolved to assert that claim to the crown of France, which his great-grandfather, Edward the Third, urged with such confidence and success.

Although several negociations had taken place for the purpose of prolonging the subsisting truce, between September 1413 and the January following,[a] it was not until the 28th of January, 1414, that ambassadors were appointed to treat for peace.[b] From the engagement which was then made, that Henry would not propose marriage to any other woman than Katherine, daughter of the King of France, until after the first of the

[a] *Fœdera*, vol. ix. pp. 59. 88. [b] *Ibid.* p. 102.

ensuing May, which term was extended on the 18th of June to the 1st of August, and afterwards to the 2nd of February, 1415, it is evident that a marriage with that princess was to form one of the conditions of the treaty;[a] but the first intimation of a claim to the crown of France, is in a commission to the Bishops of Durham and Norwich, the Earl of Salisbury, Richard Lord Grey, Sir John Pelham, Robert Waterton, Esq. and Dr. Ware, dated on the 31st of May, 1414, by which they were instructed to negociate that alliance, and "the restitution of such of their sovereign's rights as were withheld by Charles."[b]

Claim to the French crown.

The principal claims were the crown and kingdom of France: this monstrous demand being, however, at once declared impossible,[c] the English ambassadors waved it, protesting that the concession should not prejudice Henry's rights; but other points were insisted on which it was equally impossible for France to grant, without losing her independence as a nation. She was asked to surrender the sovereignty of the duchies of Normandy and Touraine, and the earldoms of Anjou and Maine; the duchy of Britany and the earldom and lands of Flanders, to-

[a] *Fœdera*, vol. ix. pp. 104. 140. 166. 183. Katherine was then under fourteen years of age, having been born on the 27th October, 1400.

[b] *Ibid.* p. 133.

[c] It is not necessary to comment on the absurdity of Henry's claim to the French crown in right of his descent from Isabella, the wife of Edward the Second; for futile as her son Edward the Third's pretensions were, Henry's were still less reasonable, as the Earl of March was in 1415 the heir of those personages.

gether with all other parts of the duchy of Acquitaine; the territories which had been ceded to Edward the Third by the treaty of Bretigny; and the lands between the Somme and the Graveling, which were to be held by Henry and his heirs without any claim of superiority on the part of Charles or his successors. To these demands were added the county of Provence, with the castles and lordships of Beaufort and Nogent, and the arrears of the ransom of King John, amounting to sixteen hundred thousand crowns, two of which were equal to an English noble. The ambassadors also intimated that the marriage with Katherine would not take place unless a firm peace was established with France, and that two millions of crowns were expected as her dowry. Negociations with France.

On the 14th of March, 1414-15, the French ministers, in reply, denied Henry's right to any part of the dominions of their master; but to avoid a war, they offered to cede the counties of Angoulesme and Bigome, and various other territories; they said, that Provence not being one of Charles's lordships was not withheld by him; that with respect to the arrears of ransom, they thought, that having offered so much to extend the possessions of England with the view of obtaining peace, the claim ought to be given up; that touching the marriage, which had been so frequently discussed, though the Kings of France had been accustomed to give much less with their

daughters than six hundred thousand crowns, which sum the Duke of Berry had offered with her in the preceding August, yet that it should be enlarged to eight hundred thousand crowns, besides her jewels and apparel, and the expence of sending her in a suitable manner to the place where she was to be delivered into Henry's hands. But as the English ambassadors said they were not permitted to prolong their stay in France, and did not possess power to alter their demands, Charles engaged to send an embassy to England to conclude the treaty.[a]

A parliament summoned November 1414.

During the progress of these negociations Henry became dissatisfied; and either from impatience, or with the view of awing France into submission, issued writs on the 26th September, 1414, commanding a parliament to be held at Westminster, on Monday after the octaves of St. Martin, the 18th of November following;[b] on which day it accordingly met. Beaufort, Bishop of Winchester, the Chancellor, opened the parliament by the command of Henry, who was present, in a very long speech, wherein he acquainted the assembly that his Majesty had determined to recover his inheritance, which had been long and unjustly kept from him and his progenitors, the Kings of England; that for this purpose many things were necessary; and taking

[a] *Fœdera*, vol. ix. pp. 208 to 214. See also *Monstrelet*, *Laboureur*, *Des Ursins*, and *St. Remy*.

[b] Appendix No. I. to the First *Report on the Dignity of a Peer of the Realm*, p. 824.

for his theme, the words "dum tempus habemus operemur bonum," pointed out with more pedantry than eloquence, that for every natural thing there were two seasons; that like the tree there was a time to bud, a time to flower, and a time to bring forth fruit, and that it was then left to repose: so was there given to man a time for peace, and a time for war and labour; that the King, considering the value of peace and tranquility which this kingdom then enjoyed, and also the justice of his present quarrel, which considerations were the more necessary for every prince who has to encounter his enemies abroad, deemed that the proper time had arrived for the accomplishment of his purpose; and thus, "dum habemus tempus operemur bonum." But to attain this great and honorable object, three things, he said, were wanted; namely, wise and faithful counsel from his vassals, strong and true support from his people, and a copious subsidy from his subjects, which each of them would readily grant, because the more their prince's dominions were extended, the less would their burthens become; and these things being performed, great honor and glory would necessarily ensue.[a]

This address was not without effect; for the Commons, after electing Thomas Chaucer, the son of the poet, for their speaker, granted the King, for the honor of God, and from the great love and affection which they bore his Majesty,

[a] *Rot. Parl.* vol. iv. p. 34.

Two tenths and two fifteenths granted.

two entire fifteenths, and two entire tenths; not, however, expressly for the purposes for which it was asked, but for the defence of the kingdom of England and the safety of the seas.[a]

Measures indicative of war.

The only measures mentioned in the "Fœdera" before April 1415, indicative of Henry's expectation that the negociations with France would not terminate pacifically, are, that on the 26th of September, 1414, the exportation of gunpowder was prohibited;[b] that on the 22nd of the same month, Nicholas Merbury the master, and John Louth the clerk of the King's works, guns, and other ordnance, were commanded to provide certain smiths and workmen, with conveyance for them;[c] that on the 18th of the following March, Richard Clyderowe and Simon Flete, were ordered to treat with Holland for ships for his service:[d] and that on the 22nd of that month, the sheriff of London was directed to summon all Knights, Esquires, and Valets, who held fees, wages, or annuities, by grants from the King, or his ancestors, to repair immediately to London, and on pain of forfeiture, to be there by the 24th of April at the latest.[e]

On the 7th of April Henry is said[f] to have addressed the King of France on the subject of

[a] *Rot. Parl.* vol. iv. p. 35. [b] *Fœdera*, vol. ix. p. 160.
[c] *Ibid.* [d] *Ibid.* p. 215.

[e] *Ibid.* p. 216. It appears that the Sheriff had been previously ordered to summon these persons to repair to London on a given day, and this writ named the precise time when they were to assemble.

[f] See "Histoire de Charles VI. Roy de France, escrite par les Ordres, et sur les Memoires et les avis, de Guy de Monceaux, et de Philippes de Vil-

his claims, and in reference to the embassy which Charles had signified his intention of sending to discuss them. No part of the correspondence on this occasion, which is extremely curious, occurs in the "Fœdera," and it is very slightly alluded to by our historians.[a]

Correspondence between Henry and Charles VI.

To the first of those letters Charles replied on the 16th of April,[b] and to the last, on the 26th of that month;[c] it is therefore evident that Henry did not wait for the answer to the first before the second was written.[d] These documents occur in contemporary writers, and as the internal evidence which they contain of being genuine is very strong, there is no cause to doubt their authenticity. Their most striking features are falsehood, hypocrisy, and impiety; for Henry's solemn assurance that he was not actuated by his own ambition, but by the wishes of his sub-

lette, Abbez de Sainct Denys, par un autheur contemporain Réligeux de leur Abbaye: Traduite sur le manuscrit Latin, tire de la Bibliotheque de M. le President de Thou, par M. le Laboureur, Prieur de Juvigné, Historiographe de France. Et par luy mesme illustrée de plusieurs Commentaires tirez de tout les Originaux de ce Regne." Paris, 1663, folio, pp. 993. 995.

Monstrelet, and "Le Histoire de Charles VI. Roy de France, et des choses memorables depuis 1380, jusques à 1442, par *Jean Juvenal des Ursins*, Archevesque de Rheims. Augmentée de plusieurs Memoires, Journaux, &c. du mesme temps non encore imprimées. Par Denys Godefroy, Conseiller et Historiographe ordinaire du Roy:" fol. 1653, p. 288. His words are, "The King of England not satisfied with having sent two embassies to the King, wrote him twice very graciously, requesting him to do him justice, &c."

[a] A translation of this correspondence will be found in the APPENDIX.

[b] *Histoire de Charles VI.* edited by *Laboureur*, p. 994. [c] *Ibid.*

[d] It is said that *both* these letters were sent by Dorset Herald, which can scarcely be true, unless we suppose that he could have conveyed the first to the French monarch, and returned to London in eight days, a celerity of travelling not very probable at that period; or that they were both sent at one time. *Laboureur*, pp. 993, 994.

jects, is rendered very doubtful by the fact, that on the day after the Chancellor solicited supplies for the invasion of France, the Commons merely stated that they granted them for the defence of the realm, and the safety of the seas.[a] The "justice" claimed was, that France should be dismembered of many important territories; and that with the hand of Katherine, Henry should receive a sum as unprecedented as it was exorbitant. But this was not all; for his first demand was the crown of France itself, and it was not until he was convinced of the impossibility of such a concession, that he required those points to which his letters refer. If then there was falsehood in his assertion, that his demands were dictated by the wishes of his people, rather than by his own, there was hypocrisy in the assurances of his moderation and love of peace, and impiety in calling upon the Almighty to witness the sincerity of his protestations, and in profaning the holy writings, by citing them on such an occasion. These letters, which were probably dictated by Cardinal Beaufort, are remarkable for the style in which they are written: in some places they approach nearly to eloquence, and they are throughout clear, nervous, and impressive.

Tennis balls sent by the Dauphin.

A circumstance is stated to have occurred in consequence of Henry's claim to the French

[a] See p. 6.

crown, which is so extraordinary that it must not be passed over without inquiring into its truth. The Dauphin,[a] who was at that time between eighteen and nineteen years of age, is reported, in derision of Henry's pretensions, and as a satire on his dissolute character, to have sent him a box of tennis balls, insinuating that such things were more adapted to his capacity and disposition than the implements of war.

Hume has justly observed, that the great offers made by the French monarch, however inferior to Henry's demands, prove that it was his wish rather to appease, than exasperate him; and it is almost incredible, that whilst the advisers of Charles evinced so much forbearance, his son should have offered Henry a personal insult. Notwithstanding that neither of the French historians, nor Walsyngham, Titus Livius, or the anonymous biographer of Henry, whose narrative will be so largely cited in the following pages, notice the communication, almost every other contemporary writer[b] alludes to it; and many subse-

[a] Louis, eldest son of Charles VI. He was born on the 22nd of January, 1396, and died before his father, without issue, on the 18th of December, 1415, in his twentieth year.

[b] *Elmham* speaks of the circumstance in the following manner in his Life of Henry V. in Latin verse, written on vellum, and preserved in the Cottonian MS. marked *Julius* E. iv. f. 94.b; but he is silent on the subject in his prose history, printed by Hearne.

"Quod filius Regis Francorum in derisum misit domino Regi pilas quibus valeret cum pueris ludere potius quam pugnare et de responso domini Regis nostri.

Dalphinus Regis Francorum filius illi
Karolus ascripsit verba jocosa nimis:
Parisius quia pilas misit quibus ille valeret
Ludere cum pueris, ut sua cura fuit.

quent chroniclers[a] have followed their assertions. In an inedited MS.[b] in the British Museum, entitled, "The Chronicle of King Henry the Fifth that was Kyng Henries son," and apparently written at the period, the transaction is thus related:

"The Dolphine of Fraunce aunswered to our ambassatours, and said in this manner, that the Kyng was over yong and to tender of age, to make any warre ayens hym, and was not lyke yet so be noo good werrioure to doo and make suche a conquest there upon hym; and somewhat in cornet and dispite he sente to hym a tonne full of tenys ballis because he wolde have somewhat for to play withall for hym and for hys lordis, and that became hym better than to mayntain any were: and than anon our lordes that was embassadours token hir leve and comen into England ayenne, and tolde the Kyng and his counceill of the ungoodly aunswer that they had of the Dolphyn, and of the present the which he had sent unto the Kyng: and whan the Kyng had hard her wordis, and the aunswere of the Dolpynne, he was wondre sore agreved, and right

Rex sibi sponte pilas rescripsit Londoniarum
Per breve missurum quis sua tecta terat,
Ludi ferre lucrum tellure fugas positurum
"Francorum regno spondet et ipse manu."

Otterbourne's expression is,

"Eodem anno, [1414] in quadragesima, rege existente apud Kenilworth, Karolus, regis Francorum filius, Dalphinus vocatus, misit pilas Parisianas ad ludendum cum pueris. Cui rex Anglorum rescripsit, dicens, se in brevi pilas missurum Londoniarum quibus terreret et confunderet sua tecta." p. 274-5.

[a] Stow, Caxton, Hall, Hollingshed, Baker, &c.

[b] Cottonian MS. *Claudius* A viii.

evell apayd towarde the Frensshmen, and toward the Kyng and the Dolphynne, and thought to avenge hym upon hem as sone as God wold send hym grace and myght, and anon lette make tenys ballis for the Dolphynne, in all the hast that they myght be made; and they were great gonne stones for the Dolpynne to play wyth all." Tennis balls.

A poem,[a] in MS. in the same library, which has been attributed to Lydgate, who lived during the reigns of Henry the Fifth and Henry the Sixth, contains an allusion to the subject:

"And thanne answerde the Dolfyn bold,
To our Bassatours sone ageyn,
Me thinke youre Kyng he is nought old,
No werrys for to maynteyn,
Grete well youre Kyng he seyde, so yonge,
That is bothe gentill and small,
A tonne of tenys ballys I shall hym sende,
For to play hym with all.

A dieu Sire seide oure lordis alle,
For there they wolde no longer lende,
They token there leve bothe grete and smalle,
And hom to Ingelond they gum wende;

[a] *Harleian MS.* 565, f. 102, 103, printed among the Illustrations of the *Chronicle of London*, 4to. 1827. Hearne, at the end of his edition of *Elmham's Life of Henry V.* has printed a long extract, describing the battle of Agincourt, from a Poem so very similar to the one here cited, that it is almost certain it was another copy of the same, and which he states to have been taken from the *Cottonian MS.* Vitellus, D. xii., a volume not now extant. It is evident from collating the extract in question with the copy in the Harleian MS. 565, that although there were several different readings, still that many words are erroneously given by Hearne. Between each verse of the copy in the Harleian collection, these lines occur in red ink:—

"Wot ye right well that thus it was,
Gloria tibi Trinitas."

but which are not noticed by Hearne; nor was it thought advisable to preserve them in the extracts which are made from the poem in this work.

And thanne they sette the tale on ende,
All that the Dolfyn to them gon saye,
I schal hym thanke, thanne seyde our Kynge,
By the grace of God if that I may.

The Kyng of Fraunce that is so old,
Onto oure Kyng he sent on hy,
And prayde trews that he wold hold,
For the love of Seynt Mary:
Oure Cherlys of Fraunce gret well or ye wend,
The Dolfyn prowed withinne his wall,
Swyche tenys ballys y shal hym sende,
As schall tere the roof all of his all."

Tennis balls.

As several contemporary writers state that the Dauphin sent Henry the contemptuous present which has been imputed to him, it ought not to be disbelieved, because some of the writers of the time do not speak of it, or because it is improbable. No proof of the circumstance can now be adduced, and the statement consequently remains among those innumerable points of history, upon which every individual must form his own conclusions; but it should be observed, as additional grounds for doubting that the message or gift was sent by the Dauphin, that such an act must have convinced both parties of the hopelessness of a pacific arrangement afterwards; and would, it may be imagined, have equally prevented the French court and Henry from seeking any other means of ending the dispute than by the sword. This, however, was not the case, for even supposing that the offensive communication was made on the occasion of the last, instead, and which it would appear from the preceding ex-

tracts was the case, on that of the first embassy, it is certain that overtures were again sent to Henry whilst he was on his journey to the place of embarkation; and that even when there he wrote to the French monarch, with the object of adjusting his claims without a recourse to arms. Moreover, had the Dauphin given Henry so much cause for personal hatred, he would in all probability have alluded to it in the letter by which he challenged him to decide his claim by single combat. The circumstance of Henry's offering to meet his adversary in that manner, may perhaps be deemed to afford some support to the idea that he was influenced by those feelings of revenge to which the Dauphin's conduct would probably have given birth; but if the chief motive of that challenge was the present of the tennis balls, some allusion to it would most likely have found a place in its contents; and the specious pretext of merely wishing to save the effusion of human blood, have been superseded by an expression of defiance, and a desire of vengeance for the insult which he had offered him.

It is unquestionable that Henry did not anticipate that the embassy which, in his first letter to the French monarch, he complains had not arrived, and for which, in the second, he says, he had granted passports, would be attended with success.[a] Nor can it be believed that his wishes were opposed to his expectations; for on Tues-

[a] See the APPENDIX.

day, the 16th of April, the day immediately succeeding the date of his second letter to Charles, he held a council at Westminster,[a] at which, pursuant to writs commanding them to attend there in the quindesme of Easter, the Dukes of Clarence, Bedford, Gloucester, and York, nine Earls, ten Bishops, five Abbots, the Prior of the Hospital, and fourteen Barons, were present.[b] After Henry had particularly thanked them for their prompt obedience to his summons, the Bishop of Winchester, the Chancellor, by his Majesty's command, acquainted them ably and briefly with the proceedings of the great council, before held at the same place, and with the resolutions adopted;[c] and, he added, that for the causes then assigned, the King had determined to undertake a voyage, by the grace of God, in his own person for the recovery of his inheritance.[d]

Preparations for the expedition, 16 April.

[a] This council and its deliberations are thus described by the contemporary poet before cited:

"Oure Kyng at Westmenster he lay
And his bretheren everych on;
And other many lordes that is no nay
The kyng to them seyd anon
To Fraunce y thenke to take the way,
Sires, he seyde, be swete seynt John;
Of good consaill y will yow pray,
What is youre will what y shall don?
The Duk of Clarence, thanne sèyd he,
My lord it is my right full will,
And other Lordys right manye,
We hold it right reson and skyll,
To Fraunce we wolde yow redy bryng,
With gladder will than we kon say.
Gramercy Sires, seide oure kyng,
I schall yow qwyte if that y may.
I warne yow, he seyd, both olde and yonge,
Make yow redy withoughte delay;
At Southampton to meet youre kynge,
At Lammas on Seynt Petyrs day
Be the grace of God and swete Mary
On the see y thenke to passe:
The kyng let ordeyn sone in hy,
Wat y mene ye know the casse."

[b] The Earls of March, Huntingdon, Arundel, the Earl Marshal, Dorset, Salisbury, Oxford, Westmoreland, Suffolk; the Archbishops of Canterbury and York; the Bishops of London, Winchester, Durham, Ely, Worcester, Lincoln, Landaff, and Norwich; the Abbots of St. Albans, Gloucester, Waltham, Colchester, and Reading; the Barons Grey, Grey de Ruthyn, Willoughby, Harington, Maltravers, Bourchier, Camoys, Poynyngs, Morley, Clifford, Zouche, Clinton, Ferrers, and Botreaux.

[c] The "Great Council" alluded to was probably the Parliament which met in November preceding: see p. 4, ante.

[d] *Fœdera*, vol. ix. p. 222.

Defence of the Realm, 17 April.

On the next day, Wednesday, the 17th of April, all the lords spiritual and temporal again assembled in council in the presence of the King, when the Chancellor informed them that his Majesty had appointed his brother, the Duke of Bedford, to be his Lieutenant of England during his absence, and that the following persons were to form his council; the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishops of Winchester and Durham, the Earl of Westmoreland, the Prior of the Hospital, the Lords Grey de Ruthin, Berkeley, Powys, and Morley. The defence of the Marches of Scotland was entrusted to the Earl of Westmoreland, and the Lords Mauley and Dacre. Besides the retinue for the war of the Marches and the Sea, two hundred lances and four hundred archers were assigned for the defence and safeguard of the East March and West March, towards Scotland; one hundred lances, and two hundred archers, for South and North Wales; one hundred and fifty lances, and three hundred archers, for the Marches of Calais: and for the Sea, one hundred and fifty lances, and three hundred archers, besides double shipping.[a]

Preparations for the expedition, 18 April

On the following day, Thursday, the 18th of April, the King being present in his said great council, declared in what manner the Lords and others of his retinue were to be retained to serve him in the said voyage for one year, and that they should receive, every Duke 13*s*. 4*d*.; every Earl

[a] *Fœdera*, vol. ix. 223.

6*s*. 8*d*.; every Baron 4*s*.; and every Knight 2*s*. each a day. If the voyage extended to France, every Esquire, Man at Arms, was to receive for his wages 12*d*., and every Archer 6*d*., a day, and for every thirty men at arms a reward of one hundred marks a quarter; and if the voyage extended to Guienne, each Duke, Earl, Baron, and Knight, was to receive as above, every Man at Arms forty marks, and every Archer twenty marks a year, without reward.[a]

Preparations for the expedition.

Henry having so far provided for the safety of the Realm during his absence, and settled the rate of wages of his Army, proceeded to use every possible exertion to raise the requisite number of soldiers, and to provide the necessary *materiel* for the expedition. Copies of a great many contracts, between the King and such persons as were bound to provide a stated number of Men at Arms and Archers, and with different persons to procure carpenters, masons, waggons, bows, arrows, &c. are printed in the "Fœdera," but the most interesting are the agreements with the crown for the payment of the retainers; and between the lords and their vassals for their equipment and reward in the voyage.[b]

It was one of the earliest measures to secure shipping from Holland; and besides the com-

[a] *Fœdera*, vol. ix. p. 223.

[b] As these documents afford valuable information on the military arrangements of the age, and form an important feature in the history of Henry's expedition, translations of two of them will be found in the APPENDIX.

mission issued to Richard Clyderow and Simon Flete, dated on the 18th of March, which has been mentioned; Clyderow and Reginald Curteys were ordered, on the 4th of April, 1415, to hire ships in Holland and Zealand for the King's service, which were to be sent to the ports of London, Sandwich, and Winchelsea;[a] and on the 11th of that month, Nicholas Mauduyt, serjeant-at-arms, was commanded to arrest all ships and other vessels carrying twenty tons or more, as well belonging to this kingdom as to other countries, which were then in the river Thames, and in other sea-ports of the realm, as far as Newcastle-upon-Tyne, or which might arrive there before the 1st of May; and the said vessels were to be at the ports of Southampton, London, or Winchelsea, by the 8th of May at the latest.[b]

Preparations for the expedition.

Commands were also issued, dated on the 3rd of May, to John Kyngeston, master of the ship called the Katherine of the Tower, to William Robynson, of the Nicolas of the Tower, to Stephen Thomas, of the Trinity Royal;[c] to John Piers of the Little Trinity of the Tower, and to William Richeman, of the Gabriel of the Tower, on the 16th of May; on the 4th of June, to John Huterell, of the Little Mary of the Tower; and on the 2nd January, to Henry Pitman, of the Rude Cog' of the Tower, to arrest the necessary sailors to navigate these ships in the

[a] *Fœdera*, vol. ix. p. 216. [b] *Ibid.* p. 218.

[c] It was apparently this ship which conveyed Henry to France.

Prepa-rations for the expe-dition.

expedition.[a] Writs were directed on the 20th of April, to Nicholas Frost, bowyer, to provide, at his Majesty's charge, workmen to make and repair the King's bows, and for that purpose to procure wood, called bow-staves, from any place he thought proper, excepting from the property of the church;[b] to Robert Hunt, serjeant of the waggons of the household, dated on the 16th of May, to provide a sufficient quantity of carts and waggons for the voyage, and also carpenters, smiths, wood and iron, to construct them, with the necessary horses.[c] To Stephen Ferrour, serjeant of the King's farriers, on the 25th of May, to provide iron and horse shoes, smiths and iron, and all other things requisite for farriers, together with proper conveyance.[d] To Simon Lewys and John Benet, masons, on the 6th of June, to provide one hundred of the best and most able masons, with their tools, for the expedition;[e] to

[a] *Fœdera*, vol. ix. pp. 238, 239. The exact words of these writs are here given, because they evince that the right of impressment of seamen, about the unconstitutional power of which so much has been said, not only existed in full force in the reign of Henry the Fifth, but that it was merely a branch of the royal prerogative, which authorized the crown to levy in the same manner any other subject or article necessary for its service—the tenor of all the other writs noticed in the text being nearly the same:

"Scias quòd assignavimus te ad tot marinarios, pro gubernatione navis prædictæ, quot necessarii fuerint, tam infra libertates, quàm extra, pro denariis nostris, in hac parte rationabiliter solvendis, et per te sufficientes deputatos tuos *Arestandum et Capiendum* et eos, nobis in obsequio nostro deservituros, ponendum: et ideò tibi præcipimus quòd circa præmissa diligenter intendas, ac ea facias et exequaris in forma prædictâ: Damus autem universis et singulis Vicecomitibus, Majoribus, Ballivis, Constabularii Ministris, ac aliis fidelibus et subditis nostris infra libertates et extra, tenore præsentium, firmiter in mandatis, quòd tibi, et deputatis tuis prædictis, in executione præmissorum, intendentes sint, consulentes et auxiliantes, prout decet."

[b] *Fœdera*, vol. ix. p. 224. [c] *Ibid.* p. 249. [d] *Ibid.* p. 251. [e] *Ii*. p. 261.

John Southemede, "fare carter,"[a] dated on the day last mentioned, to provide sixty two-wheeled carts, with collars, harness, halters, leather pipes,[b] and all other articles requisite for carts, by the 17th of June at the latest.[c] To Thomas Mathewe and William Gille, also dated on the 6th of June, to provide one hundred and twenty carpenters and turners;[d] and to William Mersh and Nicholas Shokyngton, smiths, to provide forty smiths.[e] All these persons and things were to be procured in the counties of Sussex, Surrey, Kent, Essex, Herts, Bucks, and Middlesex, or the city of London; and the civil authorities were commanded to afford every possible assistance in raising them. The Sheriffs of various counties were ordered, on the 26th of May and 24th of June, to levy a certain number of cattle; and on the 27th of May the Sheriff of Southampton was desired to cause ale to be brewed and bread to be baked in Winchester and Southampton, and in places adjacent, by the time the King arrived, for the use of his army.[f]

Defence of the realm.

That the Kingdom might not be left without protection, orders were issued, on the 28th of May, to the Archbishop of Canterbury and other Bishops, immediately to array the clergy of their respective dioceses, as well religious as

[a] *Fare carter* was a Cart Wright.

[b] "*Pipes de corio.*" These leather pipes were for the purpose of preventing the horses being galled by the gearing, and are retained at the present day.

[c] *Fœdera*, vol. ix. p. 261. [d] *Ibid.* [e] *Ibid.* [f] *Ibid.* p. 251. 253.

Defence of the realm.

secular, exempt or not exempt, according to their condition and means, for the defence of the realm in case it was invaded; and to certify, under their seals in Chancery, the state and number of the array, by the 16th of the ensuing July.[a] Commands for the same purpose were given on the 29th of that month, to some of the principal knights and esquires of each county, to take a review of all the men at arms and others capable of bearing arms, as well hoblers as archers, to divide them into companies of thousands, hundreds, and twenties, and to keep them in readiness for resisting an enemy.[b] This regulation must not be noticed without adding, that it has been said to be the first commission of array ever issued, and that "this was the æra when the feudal militia in England gave place to one which was perhaps still less orderly and regular;"[c] but an historian of the present day has shewn, that such commissions were usual in all reigns since that of Henry the Second.[d] Every Sheriff, by writs dated on the 7th of August, from Porchester Castle, was enjoined to proclaim the King's commands that a nightly watch should be kept in each town until the feast of All Saints next following, and that no tavern-keeper should suffer any unknown persons to remain in his house for more than one day and a night, without knowledge of the cause of his stay; and if any such

[a] *Fœdera*, vol. ix. pp. 253-4. [b] *Ibid.* p. 255.
[c] *Hume*, vol. iii. p. 119. [d] *Lingard*, 8vo. vol. v. p. 76.

stranger should refuse to explain the motive of his remaining, he was to be arrested by the mayor, bailiffs, or constables of the town, and committed to prison.[a]

Letters of protection and attorney.

Letters of protection were granted to numerous individuals on account of their engagement to attend the King:[b] these, in which were included persons of various ranks in life, were probably given to exempt them from civil process, or from losses in consequence of their being out of the kingdom; and others obtained general letters of attorney.[c]

Money borrowed by the King.

The supply granted by parliament in the preceding November, being insufficient to defray the expence of advancing to each person in the army part of the wages, to which by his agreement he was entitled, Henry issued a proclamation, addressed to his "very dear, faithful, and well-beloved subjects,"[d] dated at Reading on the 10th of May, informing them that he had set out on the expedition in his own person; that the Lords and others of his retinue had been paid a quarter's wages, but that he had promised to pay them for another quarter at the time of their embarkation, which was near at hand; that the money granted was not sufficient to pay the said wages at the time he had promised; and that if this was not done the voyage would not only be retarded, but the first payment would be lost, to

[a] *Fœdera*, vol. ix. p. 304. [b] *Ibid.* pp. 243, 249.
[c] *Ibid.* pp. 271, 283. [d] "Tres chiers et foiaulz et bien amez."

the great injury of him and his kingdom: he therefore entreated them, as they wished for the success of the voyage, and the welfare of himself and the realm, that they would grant him such sums as his dear and faithful knights, John Pelham and William Esturmy, the bearers of that address, would point out, and to whom they were to give full credence; that they were to send the money as quickly as possible by one of their own people, in whom they had confidence; and that such security for the repayment should be given, as with the grace of God would content them.[a] This application was attended with some success, for there is proof that the following sums were advanced in consequence, with which various customs and other sources of the royal revenue were charged:

Loans granted the King.

By the inhabitants of Canterbury 100 marks;[b] by those of Sudbury £26. 13*s.* 4*d.*;[c] by those of Bristol £240;[d] by the Bishop of Hereford £100;[e] by the Bishop of Lincoln £40;[f] by Paul de Milan, merchant of Lucca, 200 marks;[g] by Nicholas de Mulyn and his colleagues, merchants of Venice, 1000 marks;[h] by Richard Whityngton, citizen of London, 700 marks;[i] by John Butiller, customer of London, £220;[i] by John Norton, collector of the subsidy, £200;[i] by Richard Buk-

[a] *Fœdera*, vol. ix. p. 241. [b] *Ibid.* p. 268. [c] *Ibid.* p. 269.
[d] *Ibid.* [e] *Ibid.* [f] *Ibid.*
[g] *Ibid.* p. 271. The King also owed him £478. 18*s.* 8*d.* for cloth of gold and other merchandize bought of him.
[h] *Ibid.* p. 284. [i] *Ibid.* p. 312.

land, collector of the subsidy, £200;[a] by Robert Cotton, collector of the customs, £200;[a] by Thomas Denton, collector of the customs, £200;[a] by Laurence de Albert and others, merchants of Florence, 1000 marks.[a]

Jewels and plate pawned for wages.

The King's appeal to the generosity of his subjects did not, however, produce sufficient money for his purpose; and he was obliged to pawn some of the crown jewels, with a quantity of plate, to his soldiers as security for their wages. Of these deposits minute information has been preserved: they exhibit a curious picture of Henry's necessities, and contain an interesting description of the plate and jewels then used, with their weight and value.[b] A very unfavorable impression of the royal dignity is produced by these contracts; for whilst they prove the King's extreme poverty, they establish the degrading fact, that the humblest Esquire in his retinue would not embark under his banner without receiving half a year's wages in advance, or a piece of plate, a fragment of the royal diadem, or some other valuable article, as security for payment. This caution must have arisen from experience of its necessity; and it may be inferred that the laurels that adorned the brows of some of our early monarchs, were gained by services which they repaid with treachery and falsehood.

It has been estimated that Henry raised by

[a] *Fœdera*, vol. ix. p. 312.

[b] Abstracts of many of these contracts will be found in the APPENDIX.

loans, and by the grant of Parliament, five hundred thousand nobles, or nearly one huudred and seventy thousand pounds;[a] and having thus surmounted the only obstacle, he prosecuted his arrangements with unremitting energy.

Henry left the metropolis 18th June.

On the 18th of June,[b] he left Westminster on his way to Southampton. It would appear from Lydgate, that his departure was attended with much ceremony; that he proceeded through London to St. Paul's, accompanied by the Mayor and Citizens,[c] and that having made a handsome offering to that church, he took leave of his royal step-mother,[d] and then offered another oblation at St. George's, in the Fields, after which he set out on his journey.[e]

[a] *Monstrelet.*

[b] "And in this time the kyng made his voyage towards the costes of Normandye, and he rood thiderward thorughout the citee of London, towards the town of Hampton, that is to weten the xviijth day of Juyn, the yer of his regne the thridde." *Chronicle of London*, 4to. 1827, pp. 99, 100, from the *Harleian MS.* 565. f. 75. In his proclamation, dated at Reading on the 10th of May, Henry, as has been stated in a former page, says, "Nous avons prins nostre chemyns sur notre prouchien voiage par nous personelment;" but it is nearly certain that he returned again to London before his embarkation; and, moreover, Reading was not a little out of the direct road to Southampton.

[c] Stow says, that the Mayor, Aldermen, and Craftes of London, attended the King as far as Kingston-upon-Thames. *Annals*, p. 346.

[d] Joan, widow of John the Valiant, Duke of Brittany, and daughter of Charles, second King of Navarre. She married King Henry the Fourth in 1403, and died without issue by him, July 10, 1437.

[e] The garrulous Monk's narrative, which occurs in the *Harleian* MS. 565, f. 130,[b] and is printed at length among the illustrations of the *Chronicle of London*, p. 216, *et seq.*, is too curious not to be given in his own words:

"After anon, with right good chere,
Hyse grete gonnys and engynes stronge,
At London he schipped them alle in fere
And sone fro Westmenster then sprongge
With alle hyse lordys, sothe to saye;
The Mair was redy and mete him there
With alle the craftes in good araye
It is ful soth: what nede to swere?

'Heyle, comely Kyng, the Mair gan say,
The grace of God now be withe the,
And speed the wel in thy jornay,
Almyghti God in Trinite,
And graunt the evermore the degre,
To fell thin enemys bothe nyght and day
'Amen,' seyde alle the comunalte
'Grauntmercy, Sires,' our Kyng gan saye

The King arrived at Winchester on or before the 26th of June,[a] and remained there some days, probably for the purpose of receiving the French ambassadors, who, according to a contemporary historian,[b] were first presented to him at that city on the 30th of June. That writer has given a

The King arrived at Winchester, 26th of June.

To Seynt Poulys he held the waye,
He offred there full worthyly:
Fro thens to the Quen that same daye
And tok his leve ful hendelye:
And thorugh out London thanne he gan
To Seynt George he com in hye,
And there he offred that iche tyde
And othe r lordys that werein hym bye,"

[a] A document dated at Winchester on that day, is printed in the *Fœdera*, vol. ix. p. 282. It is true that the dates affixed to public instruments are not to be implicitly depended upon, for in the following page to that in which the one in question occurs, there is one tested on the very same day at *Westminster*; but we may probably always rely upon the correctness of the place at which a document was tested, with the exception of "Westminster," for, from the latter being the usual place from which instruments in the King's name were issued, it was sometimes inserted when the sovereign was elsewhere, and which it appears was the case in the instance referred to. The following are the dates affixed to Writs, &c. in the *Fœdera*, between the 25th June and 24th August, 1415.

25th June at Westminster,	29th July at Porchester Castle.
26, 29, 30 at Winchester,	1 August at Westminster.
5 July at Porchester Castle.	2, 5, 6, 7 at Southampton.
6, 10, 11, 12, 14 at Westminster.	7 at Porchester Castle.
20, 24, 27, 28 at Southampton.	10 at Waltham.
	11 at Portsmouth.
	12 at Westminster.
	14 at Southampton.
	24 at Westminster.

As Westminster is about sixty-four miles from Winchester, it is almost impossible for Henry to have been at both places on the 25th June; and as Porchester is above seventy-five miles from Westminster, it is equally unlikely that he should have been at the one on the 5th, and at the other on the 6th of July. None of the other places mentioned exceed twenty miles from each other, and the distance between them might consequently have been passed in a day. Waltham is clearly Bishop's Waltham, which is about nine miles from Southampton, and twelve from Portsmouth. On the 24th of August, the King was at Harfleur, and we nevertheless find a document tested in his name at *Westminster*, though in most cases they were tested in the name of the *Custos* of England, the Duke of Bedford, during Henry's absence.

[b] *Histoire de Charles VI.* edited by Mons. Laboureur, p. 996.

Negociation with the French Ambassadors, 1st July.

very particular account of the negociation; and states, that on the 1st of July, Henry gave a second audience to the Archbishop of Bourges, when he pointed out the advantages of peace, and afterwards treated the prelate and his colleagues with a sumptuous repast, during which he evinced the greatest pleasure at their arrival.

2nd July.

On the next day they had a conference with the Council, when the Archbishop informed them that his Sovereign was willing to submit to the judgment of the whole of Christendom, whether he had not always wished for peace, and whether he had not sought it by all just and honorable means; in proof of which he was willing to dismember his kingdom, by ceding to England many important territories and towns, and to give Henry his daughter Katherine in marriage with eight hundred thousand gold florins, a dowry which was unprecedented. After some discussion, during which the English ministers insisted on the original demands, and contended that as Charles had written in the preceding year that he would send an embassy to treat on those propositions, the ambassadors were authorized to offer other terms than they had named, the Archbishop proposed to increase the Princess' dowry one hundred thousand gold crowns, and again promised that she should be sent with rich apparel and jewels of

3rd July.

great value. On the 3rd of July the Council repeated their former claims, excepting that they said they had persuaded the King to accept nine hun-

dred thousand, instead of a million of gold crowns; to which the Archbishop replied, that he could offer no more than he had done, and that it was impossible to change franks into gold crowns. He then inquired what dower they would assign to the Queen, and was told ten thousand marks; against which he vainly remonstrated as being too little, considering her merit, the immense treasure she would bring with her, and the prosperity which she would produce to the two countries. Nothing farther took place until Thursday the 4th of July, when the King sent for the ambassadors. At that audience the Archbishop of Bourges addressed him in a very conciliatory speech, and proposed, besides the fifteen towns which were before offered, the city and castle of Limoges, which included the large and populous towns of Limoges and Tulle, and said, that all which they could add thereto were forty thousand gold crowns, independently of the eight hundred thousand crowns promised with Katherine. Henry appeared satisfied with the propositions, and replied, that he would consider of them at his leisure. After having consulted with his council, the ambassadors were summoned to an audience on Saturday, the 6th of July, when they were told that they must name a precise time to bring Katherine, with the eight hundred and fifty thousand crowns and the jewels agreed upon, and within that period to deliver up the towns and domains in question; that his Majesty consented

Negociation with the French Ambassadors, 3rd July.

4th July.

6th July.

Negociation with the French Ambassadors, 6th July.

to a truce for fifty years only, during which a peace might be negociated, but that if the attempt failed, he and his successors should be obliged to surrender the said territories, for which ample security would be given; and he proposed to send a confidential secretary to France, to submit these terms to Charles, and required that they should remain in England until the answer arrived. The ambassadors refused the last article, which was warmly argued; and at length, the Bishop of Winchester, the Chancellor, having demanded that the money and jewels with the towns, should be placed in Henry's hands on the feast of St. Andrew[a] next following, and being told that there was not enough time to coin the money by that day, and that they were not sufficiently instructed as to the conditions on which Henry was to hold the said cities and domains, he immediately broke up the assembly, and retired ill satisfied. Henry's final answer was conveyed to the ambassadors by the Bishop of Winchester, who in a long speech alluded to the negociations between their respective countries during the two preceding years, and stated, that before the King consented to marry Katherine, it would be dishonorable were he not first to demand that justice should be rendered him with respect to the crown of France, which belonged to him by hereditary right, and which for so long a time had been withheld from him: he then noticed the dif-

[a] November 30.

ferent embassies which had been sent to France, relative to the marriage and the King's claims, and observed, that the ambassadors had arrived in England very late, to the great injury of his sovereign; that although they had offered eight hundred and fifty thousand crowns for the marriage, and seventeen cities and other territories, in satisfaction of his pretensions, they had not specified how they were to be held, that is, whether they were to be held as Edward the Third had done, and without prejudice to his right, or otherwise; nor had they named the precise time of bringing Katherine with the jewels and money. "All this," he said, "being considered and placed in comparison with the crown and kingdom of France, the duchies of Normandy and Touraine, the counties of Anjou and Maine, and the sovereignty of Brittany and Flanders, to which it had pleased God to confirm the King's just claim by so many remarkable events, his Majesty was nevertheless contented with the same conditions as those on which peace had been made with Edward; but that as they had only offered a small part of those domains, and would not even signify by what title they were to be enjoyed, he was obliged to believe that their master had no intention to treat for peace on the terms which his letters led him to expect, and he must therefore, with the Divine aid, have recourse to other means to obtain justice;" and the prelate concluded by calling upon God, the

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angels, the earth, with the whole host of heaven above, and all the world beneath, to witness that Henry was unable, from the denial of a reasonable and just satisfaction of his claims, to make a firm and permanent peace. As evidence that the Bishop of Winchester had spoken his master's sentiments, he presented the ambassadors with a document to the same purport, sealed with the King's privy seal.[a] Another French writer,[b] who was also contemporary with the period, although he briefly notices the proceedings of the ambassadors at Winchester, gives a different account of the termination of their negociation, in which he is partially supported by Monstrelet.[c] He relates, that when the Chancellor had finished his speech, Henry himself added, that he was the true King of France, and that he would conquer that kingdom: to which the Archbishop of Bourges said, "Sir, if it will

[a] *Laboureur*, tome ii. pp. 999, 1000.

[b] *Des Ursins*, p. 280. The interview, according to this writer, took place on the 18th of June, the day after the ambassadors arrived; but this date is clearly erroneous, as their passports to come to England were not issued until the 29th of June, on which day they were dated at Winchester. *Fœdera*, vol. ix. p. 282.

[c] *Monstrelet*, and *St. Remy*, p. 80, say, that the Archbishop of Bourges assured Henry that fear had no influence in producing his master's offers, but that they arose from his desire to prevent the effusion of blood, and to avoid the calamities of war; for whenever he made his threatened attempt, Charles would, from the justice of his quarrel, with the Divine assistance and the support of his subjects, either drive him out of his dominions, take him prisoner, or put him to death. The speeches in Chronicles ought, however, to be read with great caution, as every thing but the purport is often imaginary. Elmham, Walsyngham, and Titus Livius, may perhaps be said to corroborate the relation of Des Ursins, for though they do not relate the expressions used by Henry and the Archbishop, they agree in charging him with having replied to the King with improper boldness.

not offend you, I will reply to you," and Henry having desired him to answer boldly, and say what he pleased, and that no harm should befal him, he proceeded, "Sir, the King of France; our sovereign lord, is the true King of France, and with respect to those things to which you say you have a right, you have no lordship, not even to the kingdom of England, which belongs to the true heirs of the late King Richard; nor with you can our sovereign lord safely treat." This spirited speech both displeased and astonished Henry, and in a haughty tone he ordered them to depart, adding, "that he would quickly follow them."

Return of the French Ambassadors, 26th July.

The French ambassadors immediately left England, and arrived at Paris on the 26th of July, and reported the ill success of their mission to the King and his council. They stated that they found it impossible to treat with the English, as they refused all which was proposed, as well in satisfaction of Henry's claims, as with regard to the marriage; that his mild and peaceable professions covered much malice and dissimulation; that in their opinion it was his object to surprize France by feigning a desire for peace; and that whilst he was amusing their sovereign with fair words, he had levied an army from all parts, to overthrow his kingdom; that he had six thousand men at arms, and fifty thousand archers, besides infantry, pioneers, and all sorts of workmen requisite for war; and that he was at Southampton

on the sea coast, where, for upwards of a month, he had assembled a fleet, without any one knowing his object.[a]

Until that moment the French court, either cajoled by Henry's hypocrisy, or lulled into security by a mistaken estimate of his power, had neglected every means for resisting the storm which was about to burst upon their country. Charles's councils had long been distracted by the rivalry of some of his own subjects; and the intestine commotions which agitated France, together with the weakness of its monarch's intellect, and the extraordinary indifference which was evinced respecting the preparations in England, afforded Henry every reason to expect that his ambitious views would be realized.

The King's arrival at Southampton.

Shortly after the departure of the French ambassadors, the King proceeded towards Southampton; and it appears that he continued either in that town, or in its immediate neighbourhood, until his embarkation. The anonymous writer, whose narrative forms so important a part of this work, states, that he passed some time at the Abbey of Titchfield;[b] and that whilst there, by the advice of the Privy Council, he ordered, that copies should be made of the treaties between his father, Henry the Fourth, and the French court, relative to the restitution of Acquitaine to the crown of England, which were then pub-

[a] *Laboureur*, tome ii. p. 1001.

[b] The Abbey of Titchfield is about ten miles from Southampton.

licly violated by the French. These transcripts having been sealed with the seal of the Archbishop of Canterbury, and signed by a notary public, were sent by Henry to the Emperor Sigismund and other Catholic princes, at the general council at Constance, with the idea of shewing to Christendom the wrong which was done to him by the want of faith on the part of the French, and of proving that, in opposition to his own wishes, he was justly obliged to take up arms in vindication of his right.[a]

Further preparations for the expedition.

Few documents of any interest respecting the expedition, between the 25th of July and the 5th of August, are preserved. On the 20th of July, Richard Redeman and John Straunge, clerk, were ordered to inspect the men-at-arms and archers in the retinue of the Duke of Clarence, and to make a report to his Majesty of their number and equipment.[b] The Sheriff of Southampton was commanded, on the 24th of that month, to proclaim that each Lord, Knight, Esquire, Valette, and all others whatsoever, who were about to accompany the King should provide himself with victuals and necessaries for the voyage, for a quarter of a year; and also, that if the inhabitants within his jurisdiction found themselves aggrieved or molested by any captains or

[a] *Cottonian MS.* Julius E. iv. f. 115.[b] This is mentioned by Goodwin in his *Life of Henry V.* p. 61, and he has given a copy of the treaties in question; but neither Henry's residence, nor the proceedings at Titchfield, appear to be noticed by any other contemporary writer than the one in the MS. just cited.

[b] *Fœdera*, vol. ix. p. 287.

their soldiers, they might seek their remedy before the Seneschal of the Treasury, or the Comptroller of the King's household, and that complete justice should be rendered them upon his arrival.[a] By a writ dated at Porchester Castle, on the 29th of July, the Sheriff was desired to proclaim, that all and singular Lords, "Magnates," Knights, Esquires, and Valettes, and all other persons, who were engaged to attend the King, should repair without delay to the ships and vessels assigned for their conveyance, and be there by the next ensuing Thursday[b] at the farthest, to proceed on the voyage.[c] On the 24th of July Henry executed his will, but, unlike the one made in 1417, when he meditated a second invasion of France, that document does not contain any allusion to the circumstances under which it was written; and it is only remarkable for the following addition—

"This is my last will, subscribed with my own hand, R. H.

"Jesu Mercy and Gremercy, Ladie Marie help!"[d]

Henry's piety.

According to all the biographers of Henry, extraordinary piety was a leading trait in his character, from which feeling the addition to his will appears to have arisen. It seems indeed

[a] *Fœdera*, vol. ix. p. 288. [b] 1st. August. [c] *Ibid.* p. 298.

[d] It is printed at length in the *Fœdera*, vol. ix. pp. 289-293. Many other of Henry's followers made their wills before quitting England on this expedition. Those of Lord Scrope, who was beheaded for treason before the King's departure, and of Edward Duke of York, also occur in the *Fœdera*, vol. ix. pp. 272-308, and extracts from other wills made on the occasion may be found in the *Testamenta Vetusta*.

difficult to reconcile the lawless ambition, much less the hypocrisy, which Henry displayed in his negociations, with an obedience to the genuine dictates of christianity; but as he rigidly observed every rite of the church, was bountiful towards its members, and uniformly ascribed his success to the Almighty, it is not surprizing that his contemporaries should have described him as eminently pious. Lydgate has noticed his oblations on his departure from London;[a] and several writers state, that previous to his embarkation, he observed numerous fasts, and made divers devout pilgrimages, alms-deeds, prayers to God, and other supplications of the clergy.[b]

Correspondence with Charles VI

Before leaving England, Henry addressed another letter to the French monarch, the real object of which was probably to prove to him, that he was ready to attempt to obtain by hostile

[a] See p. 25, *ante*.

[b] *Titus Livius*, p. 7. The following circumstance is adduced in proof of the sentiments imputed to him: "Amongst his host at Southampton, he found a certain gentleman whose name was Olandyne, in whose company were xx men well apparelled for the war. This Olandyne had given to poor people, for Christ's sake, all his substance and goods, and in great devotion became a monk of the monastery of the Charter House, whose wife was also a professed in a house of religious women, and there continued during her life; but this Olandyne, at the instigation of the devil, enemy to all virtue, after a little time repented his profession, and obtained from the Pope a dispensation from his vows, with leave to resume his former temporal estate; and as a temporal man, offered to do the King service in his war. But when the most virtuous King was informed of his life and conversation, as the child of God, he refused the company of this gentleman as an inconstant man, and a contemner of the religion of Christ; at whose refusal this Olandyne having indignation as a man replete with pride, departed from the King, and went into the aid of his adversaries in France, whereafter he was slain in the field of Agincourt, right for fighting against the Englishmen." *Harleian MS.* 35, f. 17., from *Livius*.

Correspondence with Charles VI

measures, that which he had so long sought by treaty. This letter was written in Latin, but Hall has given a copy of it in his Chronicle in English, which differs materially in the construction of the sentences from the copy in French, printed by Laboureur, though the purport is precisely the same. Monstrelet, St. Remy, and Hall, say, that it was dated on the 5th of August; but Laboureur and Des Ursins agree in assigning to it the date of the 28th of July, which appears the more probable, from the circumstance of the Earl of Cambridge and Lord Scrope, having been beheaded at Southampton, on the very day upon which the English chroniclers state the letter to have been written; for without ascribing extraordinary humanity to Henry, we may, in a case of discrepancy in the date of a document under his own hand, suppose it to have been written on any other day, rather than upon that which witnessed the violent deaths of his kinsman, and his most intimate friend.

In that letter, as in the former ones, Henry professed the strongest desire for peace; and he exhorted Charles by every principle of religion, not to neglect the repeated overtures which had been made, or at least, by restoring his inheritance avoid the effusion of human blood. As a proof of his peaceable disposition, he offered to remit fifty thousand crowns of the sum which was promised with Katherine, with whom he said he preferred living an innocent life to enriching him-

self with the treasures of iniquity, or to augmenting his dominions; but he signified his determination to have recourse to arms in case his requests were not complied with.[a] Correspondence with Charles VI

Charles's reply was dated on the 23rd of August,[b] in which he said he appealed to the whole world if he had not used every honorable means to accommodate the dispute; but he could not refrain from telling him, that his threats would avail nothing, and that if he invaded his kingdom he would be ready to oppose him.[c]

It is curious to observe the manner in which Charles and Henry addressed each other. The latter always called the French monarch "our Adversary of France," excepting in these letters, where he avoids so obnoxious a term; and in one of them very nearly allows him the royal title. In a letter from Charles, dated the 18th of September, 1413, he describes Henry as his "very dear Cousin, King of England and Lord of Ireland;"[d] but on the 11th of November following he adopted Henry's discourteous address, and called him "our Adversary of England."[e] This expression is softened in the proceedings relative to the treaty in March, 1415, as Henry is there styled "our Cousin of England;"[f] but in Charles's

[a] A translation of this hypocritical letter is given in the APPENDIX.

[b] *Laboureur*, tome ii. p. 1001, but the copy given by *Des Ursins* is dated on the 24th of August.

[c] *Laboureur*, tome ii. p. 1001—A translation of the copy of Charles's letter as it occurs in *Des Ursins*, p. 291, which differs slightly from *Laboureur's* account of it, is given in the APPENDIX.

[d] *Fœdera*, vol. ix. p. 51. [e] *Ibid.* p. 70. [f] *Ibid.* p. 214.

last letter, on the 23rd of August, he again calls him "our Cousin and Adversary of England."

Conspiracy of the Earl of Cambridge and Lord Scrope.

About the end of July the King's designs were interrupted by the discovery of a treasonable conspiracy against his person and government, by his cousin, Richard Earl of Cambridge, brother of the Duke of York, Henry Lord Scrope of Masham the Lord Treasurer, and Sir Thomas Grey of Heton. On the 21st of that month a commission, which consisted of the Earl Marshal, the Earls of Salisbury, Oxford, and Suffolk; the Lords Zouche, Fitz-Hugh, and Camoys; Sir Thomas Erpingham; William Lasyngby, Chief Baron of the Exchequer; and Robert Hull, one of the Justices of the Common Pleas, was appointed to try them.[a] The Sheriff of Southampton was ordered to assemble a Jury for the purpose; and on Friday, the 2nd of August, they were

Trial and sentence of the prisoners.

arraigned, when the Jury found that on the 20th of July, the Earl of Cambridge, and Sir Thomas Grey of Heton, had traitorously conspired to collect a body of armed men, to conduct Edmund Earl of March[b] to the frontiers of Wales, and to proclaim him the rightful heir to the crown, in case Richard the Second was actually dead; that it was their intention to issue a proclamation in Wales in the name of the Earl of March, as heir

[a] *Rot. Parl.* vol. iv. p. 65.

[b] At that moment the Earl of March was the lawful heir to the crown, he being the heir general of Lionel, Duke of Clarence, *third* son of Edward the third, whilst Henry the Fifth was the heir of John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster, Edward's *fourth* son.

to the crown, against the King, whom it was intended to style "Henry of Lancaster, Usurper of England;" that the Earl of March, with a banner of the arms of England and a crown of Spain on a palet, which had been pledged to the Earl of Cambridge, were intended to be taken with them; that they had sent to Scotland to bring one Thomas de Trumpyngton, because he resembled Richard in person, Henry Percy, and many Scots to make war against the King; that they had seized many of his Majesty's castles in Wales; that they purposed destroying the King, his brothers the Duke of Clarence, the Duke of Bedford, the Duke of Gloucester, with other lords "magnates" and other persons; and that Henry Lord Scrope of Masham consented to the said treasonable designs, and concealed the knowledge of them from the King.[a] At the trial it was reported by Sir John Popham, Constable of the Castle of Southampton, to whose custody the accused were committed, that they confessed the justice of the charges brought against them, and threw themselves on Henry's mercy; but Scrope endeavoured to extenuate his conduct, by the base plea that his intentions were innocent, and that he appeared only to acquiesce in their views to be able to defeat them.[b] Lord Scrope having claimed the privilege of being tried by his peers, he and the Earl of Cambridge were remanded to prison. Sentence of death in the usual

Trial and sentence of the prisoners.

[a] *Rot. Parl.* vol. iv. p. 65. [b] [b] *Ibid.* p. 66.

Execution of Grey.

manner was, however, pronounced upon Grey; but in consequence of the King having dispensed with his being drawn and hung, he was allowed to walk from the Watergate to the Northgate of the town of Southampton, where he was immediately beheaded.[a]

Second trial of Cambridge and Scrope, 5th of August.

Within three days after Grey's execution measures were taken against the two noblemen; and on the Monday following, the 5th of August, the Duke of Clarence was appointed the King's vicegerent, to hear the proceedings which had taken place before the Earl Marshal and his colleagues, relative to the Earl of Cambridge and Lord Scrope. He was also directed to assemble their peers, and to proceed to the execution of the sentence which had been pronounced on them.[b] The Duke accordingly summoned Humphrey Duke of Gloucester, Edward Duke of York, who was allowed to name Thomas Earl of Dorset as his deputy, probably on account of his being the brother of the Earl of Cambridge, Edmund Earl of March, John Earl of Huntingdon, Thomas Earl of Arundel, John Earl Marshal, Thomas Earl of Salisbury, Thomas Earl of Dorset, Richard Earl of Oxford, Michael Earl of Suffolk, John Lord Clifford, Gilbert Lord Talbot, William Lord Zouche, John Lord Harington, Robert Lord Willoughby, William Lord Clinton, John Lord Maltravers, Hugh Lord Bourchier, and Lord

[a] *Rot. Parl.* vol. iv. p. 66.

[b] *Rot. Parl.* vol. iv. p. 64. *Fœdera*, vol. ix. p. 301.

Botreaux, "Lords and magnates of England, and peers of the said Richard Earl of Cambridge, and Lord Scrope, being then present, and intended for the voyage of our Lord the King beyond the sea."[a] This Court having carefully examined the record of the proceedings against the prisoners, and maturely deliberated thereon, unanimously confirmed the sentence which had been pronounced; and adjudged them to be drawn, hung, and beheaded.[b] Both the prisoners suffered on the same day, and within a few hours after their doom was fixed.[c] In consideration of the Earl being of the blood-royal, the most disgraceful parts of his punishment were remitted, and he was merely beheaded; but to mark the ingratitude of Scrope, who had enjoyed the King's confidence and friendship, and had even shared his bed,[d] and the violation of his oath as a Knight of Garter,[e] he commanded that he should be drawn from the Westgate to the Northgate of Southampton, and be there beheaded; but he spared him the ignominy of being hung, and ordered that his head should be affixed on one of the gates of the city of York.[f]

Second trial of Cambridge and Scrope, 5th of August.

Execution of Cambridge and Scrope.

These proceedings were so hasty and anomalous, that they cannot be passed over without remark. The prisoners were tried by a Common

Remarks on the trial.

[a] *Rot. Parl.* vol. iv. p. 66. [b] *Ibid.*

[c] *Cottonian* MS. Julius E. iv. f. 115,[b] and the *Chronicle of London*, p. 100, printed from the *Harleian* MS. 565.

[d] *Harleian* MS. 35.—*Monstrelet*, ed. 1810, vol. iv. The practise of two men sleeping together was then, and long afterwards, very general.

[e] *Rot. Parl.* vol. iv. p. 66. [f] *Ibid.*

Remarks on the trial of Cambridge and Scrope.

Jury, before a commission consisting of seven Peers, a Knight, and two of the Judges, and found guilty, though the record of the trial does not state on what evidence; nor does it appear that any other proof was adduced than their confession, which was reported to the Court by the officer to whose custody they were committed. Pursuant to his sentence Grey was immediately executed, but Scrope having pleaded that he was a peer of the realm, and ought to be tried and adjudged by his peers, a commission was issued to the Duke of Clarence, appointing him the King's deputy, to assemble certain peers for the purpose. Instead of examining evidence as to the guilt or innocence of the prisoners, which alone would have been a "trial," this Court contented itself with deliberating upon the proceedings of the tribunal against the competency of which the prisoners appealed; so that, excepting a few days delay, no other object was gained by their protest, than the revision of the sentence which an incompetent court had pronounced, and the consolation of being condemned by persons of their own rank. This was an adherence to the forms of law indeed, but without deriving the only advantage attendant on them, namely, a fair trial by individuals of the same rank in life, and who may therefore be suppose to be actuated by similar motives and feelings.

The preceding account of this transaction has been taken from the record of it on the Rolls

of Parliament, but according to a writer who seems to have been contemporary with the event, and whose narrative has not been before noticed, the conduct of the conspirators arose from the receipt of a bribe of a million of gold from the French court, and which it is there said was fully proved, though the Jury which condemned them did not include it among their offences.[a]

Remarks on the conduct of Cambridge and Scrope.

Goodwin[b] states, that besides the gift of a million of gold, the Earl of Cambridge was reminded by the French ministers that his wife was heiress to the crown of England, and that with the aid of France he might in her right easily obtain it, if Henry were removed. This story is

[a] "And than fell there a grete disese and a foule meschief, for ther were iij lordis which the Kyng trust moch on, and through fals covetise they had purposed and ymagined the Kynges deth, and thought to have slayne hym, and all his bretherne, or he had take the see, which were named thus, Syr Richarde Erle of Cambrydge, brother to the Duke of Yorke, the second was the Lord Scrope, Tresorier of England, the third was Sir Thomas Grey, Knyght, of the Northcontre; and theis lordes aforesaide for lucour of money, had made promise to the Frenshmen for to have slayne Kynge Henry and all his worthy bretherne by a fals trayne sodenly, or they had be ware. But Almighty Good of his grete grace held his holy hand over hem, and savyd hem from this perillous meyne. And for to have done this they resceyved of the Frensshmen a million of gold, and that there was proved openly. And for hir fals treason they were all there jugged on to the deth. And this was the juggement, that they shuld be ladd thurgh Hampton and withoute Northgate there to be heded; and thus they ended hir lyffe for hir fals covetisse and treason." *Cottonian MS. Claudius* A. viii. f. 2. Lydgate too, speaks of the circumstance:

"Lordys of this lond oure Kyng gan there sell,
For a million of gold as y herd say
Therefore there truayle was quyte hem full well,
For they wolde a mad a queynte aray;
Therfore song it was waila way:
There lyvys they lost a non right in hast."

Harl. MS. 565, f. 104.

[b] *Life of Henry the Fifth*, p. 64, apparently on the authority of an anonymous historian of the reign of Henry the Sixth, whose MS. was then in the possession of D. J. Sotheby.

Ldn. 1704

Remarks on the conduct of Cambridge and Scrope.

however proved to be unworthy of credit by the fact, that although the Earl was the husband of Ann, daughter of Roger Earl of March, through whom the house of York subsequently derived its pretensions to the throne, yet that her brother Edmund Earl of March was then alive, and not more than twenty-three years of age.

Historians have confessed their inability to explain upon what grounds the conspirators built their expectations of success; and unless they were promised powerful assistance from France, the design seems to have been one of the most absurd and hopeless upon record. Their guilt is however placed almost beyond doubt by the Earl of Cambridge's confession, the original of which, and of his supplication for mercy, in his own hand, are preserved.[a]

The conduct of the Earl of March with respect to the conspiracy cannot be satisfactorily explained. Cambridge in his confession accused him of having assented to the attempt to place him on the throne, but imputed it to the Earl's confessors, who refused him absolution until he asserted his right to the crown; and if Monstrelet[b] be correct, he was the person who acquainted the King with the affair, and with the names of the parties, advising him at the same time to be on his guard. Every circumstance supports these statements; for not only did March

[a] *Cottonian* MS. *Vespasianus* C. xiv. f. 39, and F. iii. f. 7. Copies of these interesting documents will be found in the APPENDIX.

[b] Ed. 1810, vol. iv. p. 144.

escape, whilst Lord Scrope, whom Cambridge exculpates, underwent the extreme sentence of the law, but he obtained a pardon for any crime he might have committed, dated two days after their execution.[a] It is a remarkable proof how little delicacy of feeling was then observed, that the Earl actually sat as one of the judges[b] of those in whose guilt he was so closely implicated, as to require the royal pardon to purge him from its effects; and the presumptive evidence certainly justifies the opinion, that he secured his own safety by betraying his companions.

Remarks on the conduct of Cambridge and Scrope.

No sooner was this attempt crushed, than Henry directed his whole attention to the invasion of France; but from the 5th of August to the day of his embarkation, few transactions of any importance are recorded. Monstrelet says,[c] the truce with that country expired on the 2nd of August, but the latest period to which it was extended, according to the documents printed in the "Fœdera," was the 15th of July, though hostilities were not likely to be commenced until after the return of the last embassy to Paris, on the 26th of that month. By an instrument dated

Henry's proceedings shortly before his embarkation.

[a] *Fœdera*, vol. ix. p. 303. His pardon, which is dated on the 7th of August, is not considered by Dr. Lingard to be any proof of his guilt; because "such pardons were frequently solicited by the most innocent, as a measure of precaution, to defeat the malice, and prevent the accusations, of their enemies." *History of England*, vol. v. p. 16. Though this remark is true to a certain extent, it would be difficult to shew an instance in which they were granted in favour of a person who was not strongly suspected, or who had not purchased them at the expence of his accomplices.

[b] *Rot. Parl.* vol. iv. p 65, cited in a former page.

[c] Vol. iv. chap. xxv. p. 137.

Duke of Bedford Custos of England.

at Portsmouth, on the 11th of August, the day after the King left England, John Duke of Bedford, his brother, was appointed "Custos" of the Realm during his absence.[a]

Measures relative to the metropolis.

Almost the last measure adopted by the King, of which there is an account, referred to the government of the metropolis. A letter was addressed, in Henry's name, to the Mayor, dated at Westminster on the 12th August, stating, that by letters lately sent to him and the Aldermen of the City, they were ordered to take every possible precaution for the preservation of the peace within it; but that he had nevertheless been informed, that divers of the Aldermen were then absent, whose counsel and advice would be very useful; and he therefore commanded him to write to the said Aldermen, straightly charging them to return, and to remain there to assist in maintaining tranquillity.[b]

Every arrangement being at length completed, Henry prepared for embarkation.[c] If a

[a] *Fœdera*, vol. ix. p. 305. The King signified his intention of conferring this office on the Duke of Bedford, as early as the 17th of April. See *Fœdera*, vol. ix. p. 223, and p. 15 *ante*. Hall, and Stow in his *Annals*, in which they have been followed by Goodwin, assert, that before his departure from London he constituted his mother-in-law Queen Regent. There does not appear to be any authority for the statement, and the only document in the "Fœdera" relating to the Queen, was dated at Westminster on the 30th of June, by which Henry granted her permission to select either the castles of Windsor, Wallingford, Berkhampstead, or Hertford, for her residence whilst he was beyond the seas. *Fœdera*, vol. ix. p. 283.

[b] *Fœdera*, vol. ix. p. 307.

[c] It is scarcely possible to allude to the departure of Henry's army on this occasion, without citing Drayton's imaginary, but beautiful description of the separation between those who composed it, and their relatives and friends:

reliance can be placed upon the list printed in this volume, his army amounted to about two thousand five hundred men-at-arms, four thousand horse-archers, four thousand foot-archers, and one thousand persons of different descriptions; namely, miners, gunners, armourers, painters, pavilion-men, surgeons, grooms, purveyors, smiths, sadlers, masons, servants of the Royal household, minstrels, carpenters, labourers shoemakers, bowyers, &c. Number of Henry's army.

This calculation presumes that every individual named in that document, actually brought to the rendezvous the number for which he contracted; but deductions should be made for deficiencies arising from accidental causes, or from inability to fulfil their engagements. The whole amount included in the statement referred to, does not exceed eleven thousand five hundred men; but as every Man-at-Arms is considered to have been attended by his Custrell, or Valette,[a] whilst

"There might a man have seen in ev'ry street,
The father bidding farewell to his son:
Small children kneeling at their father's feet:
The wife with her dear husband ne'er had done:
Brother, his brother, with adieu to greet:
One friend to take leave of another run:
The maiden with her best belov'd to part,
Gave him her hand, who took away her heart.

The nobler youth, the common rank above,
On their curveting coursers mounted fair:
One wore his mistress' garter, one her glove;
And he a lock of his dear Lady's hair:
And he her colours, whom he did most love;
There was not one but did some favor wear:
And each one took it, on his happy speed,
To make it famous by some Knightly deed."

Battle of Agincourt.

[a] See the agreement between the Earl of Salisbury, and William Bedyk, in the APPENDIX. As the Editor found considerable difficulty in obtaining

Number of Henry's army.

it may be supposed that each individual of rank took with him one or more servants, it must be concluded that if the eleven thousand five hundred persons in question actually embarked, the whole number of which the army consisted was little short of thirty thousand.

The collection of nearly every contemporary writer's account of the proceedings of the English army, after its departure from England until the Battle of Agincourt, which will be found towards the end of the volume, would render any observations upon the subject superfluous, if it were not the duty of an historian to endeavour to deduce from the various statements of his authorities a connected narrative of those facts which may be received as truth. In the execution of this task, some indulgence may be claimed; for the attempt to reconcile conflicting testimony, even when witnesses have been subjected to a severe personal examination, is justly deemed an arduous undertaking. But when there are no means of learning the characters of early Chroniclers, or their manner of being informed of what they relate; when some of them, though stating that they were actually present on the occasion, differ materially in their assertions; when scarcely two of them agree as to the num-

an accurate account of the number and description of the persons who were attached to each man-at-arms, he was induced to apply to Dr. Meyrick, whose information on the subject is more extensive than that of any other person: the result, together with some valuable statements relative to the armour and equipment of a soldier at the period, will be found towards the end of the volume.

bers of the respective armies; and more than all, when an allowance is to be made for national, or personal prejudices, even in those whose relations appear to be most worthy of credit, the difficulty of forming an accurate judgment is exceedingly great, and the effort, if not hopeless, can only be attended with partial success.

Embarkation of the King, 7th August.

On Wednesday, the 7th of August, Henry having left Porchester Castle, proceeded in a small vessel to the coast; and he appears to have been occupied in superintending the embarkation of his army until the 10th, when he went on board his ship the Trinity Royal.[a] Immediately after his arrival he ordered her principal sail to be hoisted and unfurled, as a signal that he was ready to proceed,[b] and that the ships in the neighbouring havens were to hasten to him.[c]

The fleet, which consisted of between twelve and fourteen hundred vessels of various sizes, from twenty to three hundred tons,[d] having joined the King's ship, they quitted England on

[a] A notice of Henry the Fifth's Navy will be found in the APPENDIX.

[b] Loosing the fore-top-sail of a ship, when at anchor, is still the signal for sea.

[c] Note to *Harding's Chronicle*, and the *Anonymous contemporary Chronicler* in the Cottonian and Sloane MSS. whose narrative forms the text of the "Statements of contemporary Writers" towards the end of this volume, and who will in future be cited as the *Chronicler* A.

[d] Of these vessels, three hundred-and-twenty had assembled in the port of Southampton, and the others came from the ports adjacent. Cottonian MS. *Claudius* A. viii. f. 2. Dr. Lingard, who has evidently investigated the question with great attention, considers that Henry "entered the Seine with a fleet of fifteen hundred sail, carrying six thousand men-at-arms, and twenty-four thousand archers." *History of England*, vol. v. p. 16.

The expedition left England, 11th of August.

the following day, Sunday the 11th of August, with a favorable gale.[a]

Two incidents which occurred, were, from the superstition of the age, deemed ominous of the result of the expedition, though they contradicted each other. Swans being seen swimming near the fleet, soon after it left the Isle of Wight, they were hailed as a happy auspice,[b] whilst the

Three of the ships burnt.

loss, by fire, of some large ships before the King sailed, coupled with the recent conspiracy, were considered such unfortunate presages, that many of Henry's followers advised him not to proceed.[c] The latter circumstance stands upon the authority of St. Remy alone; but the minute accuracy for which he is distinguished, and his assertion that he was with the English army, prevent a doubt of the fact being excited by the silence of every other chronicler. He states, that soon after Henry embarked, and before his departure, one of his fleet accidentally took fire; that the flames extended to some others near her; and that, as all the rest dropped astern and did not dare to assist them, three large ships, with all on board, were consumed.[d]

Henry entered the Seine, 13th August.

Uninfluenced by this accident, Henry continued on his voyage; and having entered the Seine at five o'clock in the afternoon of Tuesday, the 13th of August, anchored before a place

[a] *Chronicler* A. Note to *Harding's Chronicle; Chronicle of London.* 4to. 1827, p. 100.

[b] *Chronicler* A. [c] *St Remy*, p. 82. [d] *Ibid.*

called Clef de Caus, three miles from Harfleur.

A council was instantly summoned, by displaying the royal banner, when it was resolved to disembark the next morning, for which purpose the soldiers were to prepare; and every one was forbidden, under the severest penalty, to land before the King.[a] This order was issued to prevent the troops from quitting the ships until the proper time, so that they might not disperse in search of plunder, and thus leave their sovereign unprotected.[b]

A council summoned

Before day-break the next morning, Wednesday the 14th of August, John Holland, Earl of Huntingdon, Sir Gilbert Umfreville, and Sir John Cornwall, were sent with a party of cavalry to reconnoitre Harfleur and its vicinity, with the view of selecting a proper situation for the encampment of the army.[c] On their return, or more probably shortly before, Henry disembarked his forces, between the hours of six and seven;[d] and having received the Earl's report,[e] he took up his position on the hill nearest to Harfleur, between, on the side towards the river, a coppice wood, and on the other, farms and orchards, where he remained until the horses and the materiel of his army were landed. His disembarkation was unresisted; and a chronicler has fully described the natural, as well as artificial obstacles which the place presented to

Harfleur reconnoitred; 14th of August.

Disembarkation of the army.

[a] *Chronicler* A. [b] *Ibid.* [c] *Ibid.* and the Note to *Harding's Chronicle.*
[d] *Chronicler* A. [e] Note to *Harding's Chronicle.*

their landing, and the means which it afforded of a successful defence. He says, that the vessels were in danger of being dashed against the rocks; that there was an abundance of small stones adapted for slings; that on the opposite shore a deep ditch had been dug which was full of water, and protected by an embattled wall; that between every dike there was only room for one person to pass at a time; and that, if the French had "had the hearts of men," and availed themselves of those advantages, by offering the slightest opposition, they would have repulsed them for a long time, even if they had not prevented their descent.[a] This supinenes is attributed by one writer,[b] to the inhabitants having been panic-struck at the sight of the expedition; and flying through the fields, they spread wherever they went the news of the invasion.

Fleet unloaded, 14th to 16th of August.

From Wednesday the 14th, to Friday the 16th of August, it may be inferred that the army was employed in unloading the fleet; and early on Saturday the 17th preparations were made for advancing against Harfleur. A proclamation was issued, forbidding, under pain of death, a repetition of some excesses which had been committed; and commanding, that henceforth the houses should not be set on fire, or the churches or other sacred places violated, and that the persons of women and priests should be held sacred, unless any of the latter were in arms, or

[a] *Chronicler* A. [b] *Titus Livius*, p. 8

acting hostilely against them.[a] The moment Henry landed he fell upon his knees, and devoutly implored the divine aid and protection, that he might obtain "justice" from his enemies.[b] Immediately afterwards he conferred the honor of knighthood upon many of his followers, and selected such as were most distinguished for strength and valour to bear the banners.[c]

Having solemnly celebrated the festival of the Assumption of our Lady at the place where he encamped,[d] the army marched towards Harfleur on Saturday the 17th, in three columns; and on arriving near it, the King took up his position with the main body on the hill, and posted the remainder as wings. Harfleur is so minutely described by a person who was in the expedition,[e] that a complete idea of it is presented. After noticing its natural situation, he states, that it was small, but well fortified, and surrounded with embattled walls; that it was protected by three lofty and well-built towers; that it had three gates, one on the side towards the place where Henry placed himself, and two on the opposite side, both of which were inaccessible to the English, on account of the water that ran into the trenches; that before each gate a defence called a barbican or bulwark was erected; that the one on the side near the King was the most important, it being

Advance towards Harfleur, 17th of August.

Description of Harfleur.

[a] *Chronicler* A. and *Titus Livius*, p. 8. See the *Regulations of Henry the Fifth's Army* in the APPENDIX.

[b] *Titus Livius*, p. 8, *Elmham*, p. 38. [c] *Ibid.* [d] *Ibid.*

[e] *Chronicler* A.; see also *Elmham*, p. 40, and *Livius*, p. 9.

Description of Harfleur.

formed of thick trees nearly as high as the walls, and well fastened together, the interior being filled with a wall of earth and rough beams, with narrow apertures, through which to annoy the besiegers with guns, arrows, and other missiles. This bulwark was more in diameter than "the cast of a stone, with which," he observes, "our common people in England are accustomed to amuse themselves by the road side," and was surrounded by deep water, the narrowest part of which was of the breadth of two lances, having a bridge for access to the town, and a small gate towards the English. Harfleur contained one church, and many handsome buildings; the port, which admitted ships as far as the middle of the town, was fortified with walls on each side, and three defences at proper distances At the entrance were two fine towers, through which the water ebbed and flowed, one of them being very high and commanding, doubly armed at the top, and in the middle; and the other armed only at the top: from these towers a chain was drawn across the harbour, and the entrance was further protected by stakes and trunks of trees, calculated to destroy any vessel that might strike on them.

Commencement of the siege, 17th August.

No sooner had the army taken up its quarters before the town, than orders were issued for pressing the siege with the utmost vigour; and arrangements were made for obtaining forage, in the execution of which much mischief was

done to the country,[a] as well as for the better regulation of a watch by night and day, to prevent being surprized by the enemy.[b] The next day, Sunday the 18th of August, the Lord de Gaucourt reinforced the town with three hundred lances from the part which, in consequence of the rivers, was not then invested; and the garrison thus augmented, consisted of from three to four hundred men-at-arms.[c]

Harfleur reinforced 18th of August.

On the night of Sunday the 18th, the Duke of Clarence, of whom a glowing eulogy is given, was sent with a division of the army to press the siege on the side by which De Gaucourt entered the town. The distance round was about nine or ten miles, the usual road having been destroyed by the French; and in the attempt to reach it he had a rencontre with the enemy, which terminated in their defeat and flight, leaving in his hands several waggons, laden with guns, powder, arrows, and cross-bows, which were sent from Rouen for the defence of Harfleur.[d] On the next morning, Monday the 19th, the Duke and his forces appeared on the hill; and from that time the town became completely invested, as it was blockaded from the sea by the fleet, and in the river by boats: the latter also formed a line of communication between the two

Skirmish of the Duke of Clarence, 18th of August.

The town completely invested.

[a] *St. Remy*, pp. 82, 83. [b] *Chronicler* A.

[c] *Ibid.*, and *Des Ursins*, p. 291, who adds that De Gaucourt was accompanied by Mignet de Coutes.

[d] *Chronicler* A., *St. Remy*, p. 83, and *Monstrelet*, ed. 1595. p. 223.

Harfleur summoned

divisions of the army.[a] As soon as this was effected, the King summoned the town to surrender; but receiving a haughty refusal,[b] he caused his guns and engines to be planted within range of the walls. These were covered, for the protection of the men who guided them, with a machine made of thick planks, which turning on two pins on opposite sides, was pulled down to protect them while preparing, and pushed up when they were ready to fire;[c] and every other measure for re-

The Siege.

ducing the place, which the tactics of the age suggested, was vigourously employed.[d] It is said, that on this occasion the English used engines which threw stones of such an enormous size, that the walls fell with a frightful noise, and speedily destroyed the fortifications.[e] The enemy are admitted to have conducted themselves

Bravery of the French

with great bravery,[f] and the zeal of their opponents was not greater than was displayed by the garrison in resisting their various stratagems and assaults. When they were no longer protected by their walls and bulwarks, they fired on the English through the ruins; and employed the night, in endeavouring to repair the mischief which the battering train had done during the day, by filling up the breaches with wood, earth, mud, and sand. A great number of pots charged

[a] *Chronicler* A. [b] *Ibid.*, and *Laboureur*, p. 1003.

[c] *Chronicler* A.—A drawing of a machine of this kind occurs in an illumination of "Le Chronique d'Angleterre," of the time of Edward the Fourth, in the Royal MS. marked 14, E. iv. f. cclxxi.[b]

[d] *Chronicler* A. [e] *Laboureur*, p. 1003. *Elmham*, p. 43.

[f] *Chronicler* A.

with lime, sulphur, burning earth, and heated oil, were prepared to throw on the besiegers in case of an assault; and their exertions drew forth the candid acknowledgment of a person who was in Henry's army, that they could not possibly have conducted their defence with more prudence or ability.[a]

Ambuscades planted by the French.

A writer, upon whose narrative the greatest reliance may be placed, states, that many French noblemen were appointed to assemble, with from five to six thousand horse, as near as possible to the English camp, with the intention of harassing it by ambuscades; and to induce them to make sallies. This was accordingly done; and on one occasion a small party of cavalry approached the English, who warmly pursued them; but in consequence of the attack having been badly managed, the French scouts, among whom were the Lords of L'Isle Adam, and Sir James de Bremin, two distinguished Knights, who were afterwards honored with the order of the Golden Fleece, were taken prisoners.[b]

Attempt to mine the town.

During the siege, Henry attempted to undermine the walls of the town, from the side on which the Duke of Clarence was posted; but the attempt being twice frustrated by countermines, was abandoned.[c] The excavations became the scene of several encounters with the enemy, for the soldiers met in them and fought with great

[a] *Chronicler* A. [b] *St. Remy*, p. 84.
[c] *Chronicler* A.

bravery;[a] and it is said, that though they were unsuccessful in their immediate object, the mines nevertheless produced a good effect, by inspiring the French with terror.[b]

The Siege. The siege continued with unabated vigour; and the measures adopted are not only related with great perspicuity, but such of them as were in accordance with, or in opposition to, the rules of warfare laid down by "Master Giles,"[c] the best authority at the period on military affairs, are particularly noticed. Faggots, about ten feet in length, were ordered to be carried by each soldier to fill up the trenches, and to raise the towers and bulwarks[d] to the height of the walls, and ladders with other articles were prepared to storm the town; but the French having managed to set these faggots on fire, the intention with which they were made was given up, and they served as screens against the enemy's shot. The trench outside the walls having been taken, the people on the ramparts of the town were continually annoyed from it by arrows and stones;

[a] *Livius*, p. 10; *Elmham*, p. 45. [b] *Chronicler A.*

[c] Mr. Sharon Turner considers, with great probability, that the "Master Giles" alluded to in the text, was the person whose work, entitled "*De Regimine Principum*," was at that time exceedingly popular, the third book of which treats of military affairs. It was, Mr. Turner observes, written before cannon were used, but it recommends, c. 17, that something fiery or ignited should be attached to the stones, which were thrown from machines, to shew by the blaze the state of the place where they fell. A beautiful copy of this work, which is said to have been so generally esteemed, as to have been translated into Hebrew, is preserved in the *Harleian Collection*, No. 4802. *History of England*, ed. 1826, vol. ii. p. 397.

[d] Of these towers and bulwarks, or barbicans, an idea may be formed from some illuminations in the *Royal MS.* in the British Museum, marked 14, E. 4.

thus, instead of the trench affording protection to the garrison it had a contrary effect, and became eminently useful to the English. On the other side of Harfleur, where a siege was extremely dangerous on account of the difficulty of communicating with the remainder of the army, which could only be effected by boats, or a long circuit, and from the fear that the French would sally on them, the Duke of Clarence caused a deep and wide trench to be dug between him and the town, and the earth to be thrown towards his position. In this trench thick trees and stakes were placed, room being left at certain distances, to fire through them, so that it became as effectual a defence to the besiegers, as a source of constant annoyance to the besieged.[a] It is said by one writer, that about the first of September, the garrison sent a person, whom they lowered by night over the walls, to the French King, to acquaint him with their situation, and to ask for assistance; that the Duke de Guienne received the messenger on the third of that month, at St. Denys, where the prince arrived on his way to Rouen; and that he ordered some troops to proceed to Harfleur.[b]

The Siege.

Besides the loss arising from the usual effect of hostilities, the English army was visited by a severe dysentery, which made frightful havock; and among its victims was the King's favourite, Richard Courtenay, Bishop of Norwich, who died

Dysentery in the English army.

[a] *Chronicler* A. [b] *Des Ursins*, p. 292.

Death of the Bishop of Norwich, 15th September

on the 15th September, after five days illness, having received from Henry's own hands the last offices of religion and friendship. The merits of that prelate are pourtrayed in striking colours; and in addition to the fact just noticed, indicative of the large share which he possessed of his sovereign's esteem, his regard was further displayed by his causing the body to be conveyed to England, and deposited in the royal cemetery in Westminster Abbey.[a] There is reason to believe that the disease was not confined to the English forces, for the Lord de Gaucort states, that one cause of the surrender of Harfleur was the mortality which prevailed within it.[b]

Sallies on the English.

On the day on which Courtenay died, a part of the garrison sallied upon the English, and, through the carelessness of the party appointed to defend their most important fortification, contrived to set it on fire, which however was speedily extinguished, and the French were compelled to retreat.[c]

16th September.

Encouraged by the success which attended that sortie, a body, in the afternoon of the next day, sallied on the division under the command of the Earl of Huntingdon, whose activity and zeal are highly commended; but they were routed, and one of their chief bulwarks set on fire. Advantage was instantly taken of this event, by sending a detachment to the spot to

[a] *Chronicler* A.

[b] *De Gaucourt's Narrative* will be found in the APPENDIX.

[c] *Chronicler* A.

prevent the French from subduing the flames; and after a gallant opposition, under the most unfavourable circumstances, having at the same time to subdue the fire and to resist attacks, they were obliged to retire beneath the walls of the town, when the besiegers were left in possession of the fortification. Fearing lest the English might avail themselves of the breach through which they retreated, they used the greatest diligence in blocking it up; but their opponents were too much occupied in extinguishing the fire, to pursue them, and with every possible exertion, two or three days elapsed before it could be got under.[a]

Harfleur again summoned, 17th September.

On Tuesday the 17th of September, Harfleur was again summoned to surrender, and a negociation took place with De Gaucourt and his principal officers; but their difficulties were not sufficiently great to induce them to accept Henry's terms. Exasperated at their refusal, he resolved to adopt the most prompt and efficacious means for reducing them: and preparations were made for storming the town on the ensuing day, for which the sailors of the fleet, as well as the army, were commanded to hold themselves in readiness. During the night the garrison was more than usually harassed by missiles of every description, to prevent them from taking any rest, so that being worn out with fatigue and want of sleep, they might be the less capable of resisting an assault.[b] But the

Preparations for an assault.

[a] *Chronicler* A. [b] *Ibid.*

Treaty to surrender.

hopes, if not the courage, of the besieged, now gave way, and a message was sent to the Duke of Clarence about midnight, soliciting him to prevail on the King to allow them to treat with such persons as he would appoint; when the Earl of Dorset, Lord Fitz Hugh, and Sir Thomas Erpingham, were selected for the purpose.[a] The French at first asked for a cessation of arms until the 6th of October, offering, if by that time they did not receive assistance from the King of France or the Dauphin, to surrender the town, security being given for their lives and property:[b] but receiving a positive refusal, accompanied by an intimation that they must yield at discretion on the following morning, or not expect any terms,[c] they entreated that hostilities might be suspended until the ensuing Sunday at one o'clock, on which day they promised to do so provided they were not by that time relieved.[d]

[a] *Chronicler* in the Cottonian MS. *Julius*, B. i. f. 37, who is partially corroborated by the *Chronicler* A.; *Walsyngham*, pp. 437, 438; and the Chronicler in the Cottonian MS. *Claudius*, A. viii., who says, twelve burgesses came with the request.

[b] *Chronicler* in the Cottonian MS. *Julius*, B. i.

[c] *Walsyngham*, pp. 437. 338; and the Chronicler in the Cottonian MS. *Julius*, B. i.

[d] The anonymous Chronicler in the Cottonian MS. *Cleopatra* C. iv., states, that the garrison agreed to surrender within two days after they had communicated their situation to the King of France, provided they did not receive the expected succours; and that Henry, with a generosity incredible on such an occasion, told them the time they asked was too short, and proposed to enlarge it until two o'clock on the following Sunday. The writer last cited says, it was part of the conditions that in the mean time the Captains of the town should come to Henry with twenty-two Knights, Esquires, and principal Burgesses, and publicly swear to the performance of the conditions.

On Wednesday, the 18th of September, the agreement to surrender on the following Sunday was entered into by written covenants between the English Commissioners on the one part, and the Captain of Harfleur on the other; and twenty-four hostages, selected from the most important persons in the place, were delivered into Henry's hands;[a] a message being dispatched at the same time, agreeably to the treaty, to the French monarch, to inform him of the state of the town.[b] The solemn manner in which the inhabitants pledged themselves to adhere to the convention, is deserving of notice. Benedict, Bishop of Bangor, the King's chaplain, dressed in his pontificals, carried the eucharist to the walls of Harfleur, being preceded by thirty-two chaplains, each in his surplice, amice, and cope, and attended by as many esquires, dressed alike, one of whom bore a lighted taper before every priest.[c] The Commissioners and hostages having been mutually sworn on the sacred elements to the conditions,[d] the inhabitants were told that they need not fear improper treatment, as the King had no wish to ruin his territory; and the bishop and his retinue then returned to the camp.[e]

Treaty concluded, 18th September.

[a] The names of the hostages will be found in a subsequent page.

[b] *Chronicler* A. who says, the communication was sent by a knight, but *Monstrelet* asserts, that the Lord de Bacqueville and several others conveyed it, which is more probable—ed. 1595, p. 224. According to the Chronicler in the Cottonian MS. *Julius* B. i. a deputation cousisting of eight persons was sent to the French Monarch.

[c] *Chronicler* A. and *Des Ursins.* [d] *Ibid.*

[e] *Des Ursins*, p. 295. Another writer gives rather a different account of

Death of the Earl of Suffolk.

Upon the day on which the truce was made, Michael de la Pole, Earl of Suffolk, died of the disease which had proved fatal to the Bishop of Norwich; and the description given of his son and successor, who was then just of age, that he was distinguished for strength, activity, and bravery, is interesting, from the circumstance of his having fallen at Agincourt.[a]

Surrender of Harfleur, 22d September

On Sunday the 22nd of September, before which day, the messengers from the town to the King of France returned with a reply, purporting that from the army not having assembled no aid could speedily be sent it,[b] Harfleur was surrendered into Henry's hands. Few events afford such a subject for the pencil, as the ceremony observed upon that occasion; and though it is impossible to describe it with the force and vigour of the contemporary English writers, it is necessary that an account, embracing such of the various statements as are consistent with probability and with each other, should be attempted.

the proceeding, as he says that the English deputation were met by the chief lords of the town, and twenty-two knights; that when the French had taken the oaths they were brought to the King's tent and partook of a repast, after which they were delivered to the care of certain noblemen to be detained as hostages until the Sunday following; and that during the whole ceremony, which was conducted with great solemnity and state, Henry did not once make his appearance.—Cottonian MS. *Julius* B. i.

[a] *Chronicler* A.

[b] *Monstrelet*, ed. 1595, p. 224. The answer, according to *Laboureur*, who severely censures the neglect with which these gallant men were treated, is somewhat different. He says, "they were told to keep up their courage, and to rely upon the prudence of the King, who provided for every thing at the proper time;" but, he adds, "notwithstanding these fine words, the army, which amounted to 14,000 men, was disgracefully passive to their sufferings."—p. 1004.

At the appointed hour, Henry being dressed in the regal robes, ascended a throne which was erected for the purpose, under a silk pavilion, on the top of the hill opposite to the town. Around him were assembled all the peers and other persons of rank, in their richest apparel; and upon his right stood Sir Gilbert Umfreville, Earl of Kyme, bearing on a halbert-staff the royal helmet, surmounted by the crown.[a] But no language can convey so perfect an idea of the dignified demeanour of the King, as the following quaint passage from a writer, who was probably an eye-witness of the scene: "Our King sat in his estate as royal as did ever any King; and as it is said, there never was Christian King so royal, neither so lordly, sat in his seat as did he."[b] From his Majesty's tent to the town, a passage was formed by the English soldiers, through which the late governor, Sir Lionel Braquemont, the Lord de Gaucourt, and other distinguished knights,[c] with the host borne before them,[d] attended by those who had sworn to observe the treaty,[e] and by thirty-four of the principal individuals of the town,[f] passed to Henry's presence; having, according to one writer, been received at the entrance of the tent, and conducted to the King by some

Ceremony at the surrender of Harfleur, 22nd September.

[a] *Chronicler* A., and the Chronicler in the Cottonian MS. *Julius* B. i. f. 37.

[b] Chronicler in the Cottonian MS. *Cleopatra* C. iv. f. 24.

[c] *Livius*, p. 11. [d] *Walsyngham*, p. 438. [e] *Chronicler* A.

[f] Note to *Hardyng's Chronicle;* but the Chronicler in the Cottonian MS. *Julius* B. i., says, the French Lords were accompanied by sixty-four of the chief persons of the town.

Ceremony at the surrender of Harfleur.

English Lords and Knights.[a] As soon as they were admitted, Sir Lionel Braquemont advanced towards the throne, and kneeling, laid the keys of Harfleur before the King, whom he addressed to this effect: "Most victorious Prince, behold, here are the keys of this town, which by treaty and conquest we yield unto you, with myself and my followers.[b] After ordering the Earl Marshal to receive the keys, Henry promised them, that notwithstanding they had, "in defiance of God and justice," kept his town from him, yet in consideration of their having submitted to his clemency, he would not entirely withhold his mercy from them. The assembly was then dismissed, and the hostages and others of the chief prisoners, to the number of sixty-six, were magnificently entertained at supper; after which they were entrusted to the custody of some confidential officers, who were strictly enjoined to treat them honorably.[c] Here the difficulty which has been alluded to, of exactly reconciling the different statements presents itself; for an inedited chronicler[d] asserts, that when the French came to the English camp, they all knelt down, but were not then allowed to see the King, and were taken to other tents, where they again knelt for a long time, but it is expressly said they did not see his Majesty; that from thence they were brought

[a] Chronicler in the Cottonian MS. *Cleopatra* C. iv. f. 24.

[b] *Titus Livius*, p. 11.

[c] *Chronicler* A., and *Walsyngham*, p. 433, who calls the supper a *dinner*.

[d] Cottonian MS. *Cleopatra* C. iv. f. 24.

to an inner tent, where they again knelt, but still were not permitted to see the King; that they were at last led to where Henry was, before whom they knelt for a considerable time, for he "would not reward them with a look, until they had long knelt, and then he gave them a reward with his look, and made a countenance to the Earl of Dorset, that he should take of them the keys, which he did; and there were the Frenchmen taken up and made cheer." This does not contradict the other accounts, and merely allows of the inference, that instead of the procession having been immediately brought into the royal tent, and into the King's presence, they were made to submit to various preliminary humiliations. It is however certain, that Henry received them with much ceremony; and that they were afterwards hospitably entertained, though he might not have honored the feast with his presence.

Ceremony at the surrender of Harfleur.

Thus, after a vigorous siege of about thirty-six days, one of the most important towns of Normandy fell into the hands of the invaders; and whilst the contemporary narratives contain ample evidence of the zeal and valour of the assailants, they bear equal testimony to the bravery and exertions of the besieged. Independently of the defence of the town, in which nothing that the military skill of the age could suggest was left untried, they frequently sallied upon their enemies; they opposed their mines with success; they conveyed all their ships within the port,

Gallant defence of the besieged.

Gallant defence of the besieged.

bound them together by chains, and made numerous attempts to attack the fleet, though they were uniformly repulsed:[a] the garrison, after suffering both from disease and the want of provisions,[b] did not surrender until further resistance was hopeless; and, in a word, they fully merited the repeated eulogiums of the writer who witnessed their efforts.[c]

Harfleur taken possession of.

Soon after Harfleur was given up, the banners of St. George and the King floated over its gates, and Thomas Beaufort, Earl of Dorset, Henry's great uncle, was appointed captain and governor; to whom the keys were entrusted.[d]

Henry entered the town, 23rd September

On the ensuing day, Monday, the 23rd of September, Henry entered the town. From feelings of devotion he dismounted at the gate, took off his shoes and stockings, and proceeded barefooted to the church of St. Martin, where he gave solemn thanks to God for his success.[e] He then commanded that all the women and children, as well as the poor, should be separated from those who had sworn allegiance to him, and from those who having refused to take the oath, were considered as prisoners;[f] and the next day they were sent out of the town, to the number of, from one thousand five hundred, to two thousand.[g]

[a] *Titus Livius*, p. 10. [b] *Narrative of De Gaucourt.*

[c] *Chronicler* A.

[d] *Chronicler* A., and the Chronicler in the Cottonian MS. *Cleopatra*, C. iv. f. 24. [e] *St. Remy*, p. 84, and *Monstrelet*, ed. 1595, p. 226.

[f] *Chronicler* A.

[g] *Ibid.*; *Des Ursins*, p. 296., and the Chronicler in the Cottonian MS. *Claudius* A. viii. f. 3.

Upon quitting their residence they exhibited every symptom of grief and despair. They were attended by an escort beyond the camp, to protect them from the attacks of the English freebooters;[a] and all persons belonging to the church, and the women and children, to each of whom five sous were given,[b] were permitted to dress themselves in their best apparel, and to carry with them what they pleased, provided it did not form a large bundle. It was forbidden to search the priests, or the bosoms or heads of the females; and when they reached St. Aubin,[c] a town about four miles distant, they gave them bread, wine, and cheese, and entreated them to drink. The English escorted them as far as Lislebone, where Marshal Boucicault received them; from whence they were the next day sent by water to Rouen.[d] One of Henry's brothers[e] entered Harfleur on the Monday in great pomp. He went from house to house mounted on a small horse, and commanded that every thing should be delivered up to him upon pain of death.[d] If this account be correct, the splendour of the royal Duke formed a striking contrast to the pious humility of the King.

Inhabitants sent out of the town, 24th September

The principal soldiers and inhabitants were treated as prisoners; and, on the following Friday, September the 27th, the Lord de Gaucourt,

[a] *Chronicler* A. [b] *St. Remy*, p. 84—*Monstrelet*, ed. 1595, p. 226.

[c] According to Lamothe, in his *Antiquités de la Ville d'Harfleur*, the inhabitant of St. Aubin received these unfortunate persons with great kindness, and from that time to the present it has been customary for the inhabitants of Harfleur and St. Aubin to call each other "brothers." [d] *Des Ursins*, p. 296.

[e] Two were present, namely, the Dukes of Gloucester and Clarence.

Prisoners dismissed on parole, 27th September.

several of the citizens, sixty knights, and above two hundred gentlemen, were, in consequence of most of them being extremely ill,[a] allowed to depart, having first sworn to surrender themselves at Calais on the 10th of November in the same year. Other conditions were annexed, which with all the conventions relating to the reduction of Harfleur, "would be found in the Book of Records."[b] Of this "Book of Records," which is again spoken of, nothing is now known; but the notice taken of such a registry of public transactions is deserving of attention, for it may be concluded, that it was the custom of the age to commit such agreements to writing, not merely on detached copies of treaties, many of which are still extant, but that they were then regularly entered into books provided for the purpose. Another motive for Henry's dismissal of his prisoners was, that through their influence the war might the sooner be brought to a close.[c]

Towers surrendered.

It was not until two days after the town was in possession of the English, that the strong towers near the entrance of the harbour surrendered; but, after a gallant defence, they capitulated on the same terms as the garrison.[d] The booty found in Harfleur, together with a great many horses, were distributed amongst the army, each man receiving according to his rank and

[a] *De Gaucourt's Narrative.* [b] *Chronicler* A. [c] *Ibid.*

[d] *St. Remy*, p. 84, and *Monstrelet*, ed. 1595, p. 226. The latter writer says, the towers held out for about ten days after the town.

merits;[a] besides which, some of the most affluent citizens redeemed themselves by heavy ransoms.[b] Henry endeavoured to supply the vacancy which the departure of the prisoners had made in the town, by proclaiming throughout England, that whatever tradesman would settle there, should receive a house and household to hold to him and his heirs for ever; in consequence of which, many of the merchants and working classes came over and made it their residence.[c]

English artizans invited to Harfleur.

Henry, about this time, being, it is said, actuated by an earnest wish to find some other means for terminating the war than by the sword, sent his herald Guienne, with the Lord de Gaucourt, to the Dauphin, to signify that he had been expecting, and should still expect, him at Harfleur within the eight following days; and he requested him to state during that period whether he yet lamented the loss of human blood, and would cause his right to be admitted, and thus make peace with him; or whether, after having entered into the necessary securities that the kingdom of France should belong to the victor on the decease of Charles, he would consent to meet him in personal combat.[d] If the date assigned

Henry challenged the Dauphin, 26th September.

[a] *Titus Livius*, p. 11. [b] *St. Remy*, p. 84, and *Monstrelet*, ed. 1595, p. 226.

[c] Chronicler in the Cottonian MS. *Claudius* A. viii., and a Chronicle in Peter's College, Cambridge, printed in *Leland's Collectanea*, vol. i. p. 487. Numerous grants of houses and lands in Harfleur, to Englishmen, occur on the French Rolls, most of them dated in 1417.

[d] *Chronicler* A. The letter by which Henry challenged the Dauphin, is printed in the *Fœdera*, and a translation of it will be found in the APPENDIX. It does not state either that Henry had been expecting the Dauphin, or that he should expect him, in the eight ensuing days.

Henry challenged the Dauphin.

to the letter, from Henry on this occasion,[a] be correct, it must have been written two days previous to the suspension of hostilities, and six days before Harfleur was actually in Henry's hands; but which cannot be reconciled with its being dated "at our town of Harfleur." It is stated, moreover, that at the expiration of the eight days after the letter was forwarded, the King resolved to proceed on his march; hence, if it was written on the 16th, that resolution must have been taken on the 24th of September, upon which day he had not dismissed his prisoners, or made the necessary arrangements for the defence of the town. Under all the circumstances, the date attributed to the challenge may be considered erroneous, and instead of the sixteenth, it must have been written on the twenty-sixth, of September, which would exactly agree with the assertion that Guienne, the bearer of it, accompanied the Lord de Gaucourt, who is expressly said to have left Harfleur on his parole on the twenty-seventh of that month.[b]

[a] The MS. from which the copy of the letter in question in the *Fœdera* was taken, is still extant in the Cottonian collection, marked *Caligula* D v., but it was considerably injured in the fire to which that library was exposed. Sufficient however remains to shew that it was a contemporaneous transcript of the original. The date certainly now appears to be "Donne soubt notre prive Seal, a notre ville de Harflieu le xvj jour de Septembre," but as the letters "xvj" occur close to the left hand margin, it is possible that another "x" may have preceded that which is at present visible, and that the flames have rendered it illegible. The space which it would have occupied remains, unconsumed; and the supposed error in the date may perhaps be attributed to the transcriber.

[b] *Chronicler* A. It is deserving of remark, that De Gaucourt takes no notice in his *Narrative* of having been sent to the Dauphin.

Henry challenged the Dauphin.

The point is of little consequence, excepting that the correction of the date of that extraordinary communication was necessary to reconcile it with other circumstances, and, thus, to prevent an impression against its authenticity. Of the personal valour which that letter displays on the part of Henry, but little can be said; for the challenger was about twenty-seven years of age, and in the full vigour of manhood, whilst his adversary, of whose prowess or bodily strength there is not the slightest evidence, and who died in the December following, had not attained his twentieth year. Such a combat would have possessed nothing approaching to equality; and as the proposition for it came from the strongest party, its refusal, or the neglect of it, can no more be deemed to impeach the courage of the challenged, than the offer can add to the renown of him from whom it emanated. It is true that Henry explains that the infirmity, or in other words, imbecility of the French King prevented his addressing him, but there was little of true bravery, under any circumstances, in wishing to meet a mere youth in the field; and still less of "justice" in expecting that so important a stake should be hazarded on the result of such a meeting.

A Council held, 5th October.

At the expiration of eight days after the letter to the Dauphin was forwarded, and which must have been the 5th of October, Henry held a council to deliberate upon his future proceed-

A Council held.

ings.[a] At that moment the state of his army became the primary object of consideration; and as its extent and condition are of the utmost importance in relation to the merits of the battle which has immortalized his name, it is necessary that considerable attention should be given to the subject. To avoid the necessity of again alluding to the amount of the English army at Agincourt, for there could have been but a very slight difference between its numbers on quitting Harfleur and on that day, the point will now be fully discussed.

Number of the English army.

One writer says, that the dysentery had carried off infinitely more than were slain in the siege; that about five thousand men were then so dreadfully debilitated by the disease that they were unable to proceed, and were therefore sent to England; that three hundred men-at-arms and nine hundred archers were left to garrison Harfleur;[b] that great numbers had cowardly deserted the King and returned home by stealth; and that after all these deductions, not more than nine hundred lances and five thousand archers remained fit for service.[c] The following are the statements of all the contemporary writers on the subject:

[a] *Titus Livius*, p. 12, and *Chronicler* A.

[b] *Monstrelet* says, that Henry left five hundred men-at-arms, and one thousand archers under Sir John Blount at Harfleur.—Ed. 1595, p. 226.

[c] *Chronicler* A.

ENGLISH WRITERS.

	MEN-AT-ARMS.	ARCHERS.	
Chronicler[a] in the Sloane MS. 1776.	900	5000	Number of the English army.
Harleian MS. 782	800	8000	
Note to Hardyng's Chronicle	900	5000	
Chronicler in the Cottonian MS. Claudius A. viii.	Not 7000 fighting men.		
Chronicler in the Sloane MS. 1776.	6000 fighting men.		
Chronicler in the Harleian MS. 565[b] and Walsyngham.	8000 fighting men.		
Hardyng	9000 fighting men.		
Chronicler in Peter's College, Cambridge.[c]	7000 fighting men.		
Records of the city of Salisbury.[d]	Not above 10,000 fighting men.		

Neither Titus Livius nor Elmham give any precise account of the numbers of the two armies. The former merely states, that the English ranks were four men deep, whilst the French lines were thirty-one men deep; and the latter says, that the English ranks were four, and the French above twenty men, or more, deep.

FRENCH WRITERS.

	MEN-AT-ARMS.	ARCHERS.
Des Ursins[e]	4000	16 to 18,000 and other fighting men.
Monstrelet[f]	2000	13,000 with others.
St. Remy[g]	From 900 to 1000	10,000
Berry, First Herald to Charles VI.[h]	1500	16 to 18,000
Biographer of the Count of Richmond.[i]	11 to 12,000 fighting men.	

[a] Generally cited in this work, as the *Chronicler* A.

[b] f. 75, 76, printed in *the Chronicle of London*, 4to. 1827, p. 100.

[c] *Leland's Collectanea*, vol. i. p. 487. [d] *Lansd.* MS. 1054, f. 54.

[e] P. 310. This writer in a subsequent page says, that when Henry landed, his army consisted of 4000 men-at-arms, 4000 gros valets, armed with helmets, bervyeres or beavers, &c. and 30,000 archers, p. 314.

[f] Ed. 1595, p. 226. [g] pp. 89, 90. [h] p. 430. [i] pp. 239, 240.

Number of the English army.

Before referring to more satisfactory evidence of the number of the army, it must be observed that the English writers, and still more a French historian, St. Remy, who positively says he was present with the English, very nearly agree in their statements on the subject. As each man-at-arms, if a Knight, was accompanied by his valet or custrel, and page, and if an Esquire, by his serjeant,[a] the men-at-arms whom these writers estimate at nine hundred, must perhaps be multipled by three, and the aggregate added to the five thousand archers, to give the total number of fighting men. The result of this calculation will be seven thousand seven hundred, and the usual attendants on an army, of whom the description towards the end of the volume affords a correct idea, may be deemed to have increased the whole amount of Henry's followers to between nine and ten thousand. But the best evidence is the List of the men-at-arms and archers in the retinue of each of the principal commanders, at Agincourt. Although the number mentioned in one copy of that document does not exceed five hundred and seventy lances, and one thousand four hundred and forty archers, it is certain from another transcript which was undoubtedly taken from the original, as well as from other circumstances, that it was only, what it is in one place called, a "parcell" of the names of those

[a] See some valuable observations on this subject by Dr. Meyrick in the APPENDIX.

who were present, for at the end of the Roll is the following memorandum; Number of the English army.

"Sum̃a totalis istius Rotuli, viij^{C} xij lances.
Sum̃a to^{l} istius Rotuli, iij^{M} lxxj sagitarr'."

If, and which is highly probable, the word "parcell," applied only to the names, and not to the numbers, the above may be considered the exact amount of the men-at-arms and archers who shared the laurels of that conflict. This conclusion is supported, even if it be not established, by the fact, that the names of the men-at-arms mentioned in it, do not extend to half eight hundred and twelve, whilst the archers referred to at the end of each of the respective retinues, do not exceed one third of three thousand and seventy-one. This would reduce Henry's forces beneath the lowest estimate of either of the writers of the period; for when the rule for computing an army is applied to that statement, the gross number of fighting men will be about five thousand five hundred. But if the least regard be paid to the assertions of the French chroniclers, all hope of forming a correct judgment on the question is at an end, as the English army is rated by them at, from two thousand men-at-arms, and thirteen thousand archers, to four thousand lances, and sixteen or eighteen thousand archers; that is, agreeable to the same calculation, from twenty thousand to thirty thousand fighting men. Ab-

Number of the English army.

surd as some of those statements must be, they are by no means unusual, for on no occasion do chroniclers differ so much from each other as in the account of forces brought into the field; and whether such contradictions arose from national vanity, from the desire of flattering the victors, or consoling the conquered, or from ignorance, the effect is to plunge a subsequent historian into a whirlpool of embarrassments, from which it is not always possible to emerge. After a most impartial consideration of the question, no other conclusion can however be drawn, than that the English army which quitted Harfleur, did not exceed nine thousand fighting men; and there is a strong probability that it consisted of little more than six thousand; so that if Henry landed with thirty thousand men, more than two thirds must have been slain during the siege, have fallen victims to the dysentery, have been left to garrison Harfleur, or have been sent to England in consequence of their inability to proceed.

Resolution of the Council, 5th October.

At the Council which assembled to deliberate on what would be the most advisable measures to adopt, it was decided that as winter was approaching, the army should return to England; but a dispute arose whether they should embark in the fleet, or march through France to Calais.[a] That the latter question could for a moment have been agitated in the existing state of affairs, is suffi-

[a] *Chronicler* A.: *Titus Livius*, p. 12.

cient cause for astonishment; but that in opposition to the advice of the wisest, and the majority, of his council, Henry should have insisted upon marching direct to Calais, is almost incredible. Properly, indeed, was it urged to him that his army was reduced to an insignificant amount; that many of the survivors were still suffering from the disease, which had destroyed so many of their countrymen; that even of these, part must be left for the defence of Harfleur; and that the enemy had collected an immense force from all parts of the country, to resist him:[a] but to such arguments the King was deaf. He replied, that he was anxious to view the territories which by right were his own; that his trust was in God; that if he quitted Harfleur in the manner they proposed, the enemy would reproach him with cowardice; and that he was resolved at all hazards to proceed.[b] To deny Henry the merit of romantic bravery for his determination, would be unjust; but it merits the strongest censure for the rashness, and recklessness of consequences, which it betrayed. Success, which it was madness to calculate upon, fortunately rewarded his resolution; but this, though a common, is a fallacious criterion of the wisdom of a chieftain's actions; for, notwithstanding that the mind is dazzled, and consequently misled, by those extraordinary deeds of arms which almost excuse defeat, any calculation at variance with the ordinary course

Henry resolved to march to Calais.

[a] *Chronicler A.: Titus Livius*, p. 12. [b] *Ibid.*

Henry resolved to march to Calais.

of events, is no less dangerous in public, than in private, life. The man who risks his whole fortune upon a circumstance, which can only occur by an important deviation from the usual stream of human affairs, is not more an object of blame, than a commander, who with an army of less than nine thousand men, should expect to pass in safety one hundred miles through an enemy's country, when he must have known that every individual capable of bearing arms had been collecting for several weeks, to oppose his progress. Unprecedented intrepidity, may with great truth be ascribed to Henry; but he can have no claim to the praise of having upon this occasion, acted like a wise or a prudent general.

Preparations for departure from Harfleur.

After causing Harfleur to be put into a state of defence, by repairing the effects of the siege, and having left part of his army to garrison it, the King prepared for his departure.[a] Among those who returned with the sick to England, were, according to some writers,[b] the Duke of Clarence, the Earl Marshal, the Earl of Arundel, the Earl of March, who was ill of the dysentery, and the Earl of Warwick.[c]

It is uncertain upon what day Henry quitted

[a] *Chronicler* A. [b] *Livius, Walsyngham, St. Remy.*

[c] It is said by *St. Remy*, p. 84, that the Lords De Gaucourt and De Estouteville, and the rest of the prisoners, together with the plunder of the town, were also embarked for England, on board the ship that brought Henry to Normandy; but there is evidence that these two noblemen and most of the other prisoners were permitted to go at large on their parole, on condition of surrendering themselves at Calais on the 10th of the following November. See the *Chronicler* A., and especially *De Gaucourt's Narrative.*

Harfleur to proceed on his journey, but it must have been about the 8th of October.[a] His army, which was drawn up, agreeably to the practise of the English,[b] in three columns[c] with two wings,[d] was commanded to take with them sufficient food for eight days;[e] and from the statements of the majority of the chroniclers, corroborated by some other circumstances, it seems that he took the route towards Fecamp, passing about half a mile to the right of the town of Montivilliers, and thence along the sea coast to the river Somme.[f] All the baggage of the army was carried on horseback, but the heavy articles, carriages, &c. were left at Harfleur.[g] From

Henry left Harfleur, 8th October.

[a] There is much discrepancy between the statements of the various Chroniclers, as to the day on which Henry left Harfleur. According to the *Chronicler* A. it was on the *Tuesday* before the feast of St. Denys, on the *nones* of October, the 7th of that month; but if it was on the Tuesday before the feast of St. Dennis, it must have been on the *eighth*. The note to *Hardyng's Chronicle* states, that the King set out for Calais on *Tuesday, the first of October*, which is also asserted by the anonymous Chroniclers in the Cottonian MSS. *Claudius* A. viii. *Cleopatra* C. iv. and *Harleian* MS. 565, and which is not only supported by the fact, that the 1st of October, in 1415, fell on a *Tuesday*, but by the date of a letter, noticed in a subsequent page, from Sir Thomas Bardolf, written at Calais on the *seventh* of October, from which it is almost certain that Henry must have been on his route to that place several days before. *Monstrelet* says, Henry left Harfleur fifteen days after he entered it, which would make it about Tuesday the 8th, whilst *Otterbourne* asserts, that it was on the feast of St. Dennis, *i.e.* Wednesday the 9th. It appears that on Friday the 11th, Henry was at Arques, which is about forty miles from Harfleur; hence, if he quitted that town on the *first*, he could not have proceeded with much expedition. Moreover, we find the *Chronicler* A. speaking on the 14th, of the effects to be dreaded when the *eight* days' provisions, which the army had brought with them from Harfleur should be consumed. [b] *Livius*, p. 12.—*Elmham*, p. 51. [c] *Ibid.*, and *Chronicler* A.

[d] *Livius*, p. 12—*Elmham*, p. 51. [e] *Chronicler* A.

[f] One of the French writers, *Des Ursins*, p. 310, upon whose assertion in this instance, however, no reliance can be placed, attributes an entirely different route to the English army, by saying that it advanced towards Gournay and Amiens. [g] *Elmham*, p. 52.

Proclamation against pillage.

motives, as much perhaps of policy as humanity, a proclamation was issued forbidding the soldiers, under pain of death, to commit any species of devastation, or to plunder the inhabitants of their property, excepting articles of food, and other necessaries, unless they attempted to impede them.[a] It is deserving of notice that the English writers always speak of the French as the natural subjects of Henry; and not contented with considering France as belonging to the crown of England, they describe their resistance to the invasion as an act of rebellion.

Skirmish at Montivilliers.

No information occurs when the English reached Fecamp, but both there and near Montivilliers, which place they must have passed on the day they quitted Harfleur, they met with some opposition; as in the list of the men-at-arms who were at Agincourt, a lancer[b] is stated to have been killed before Montivilliers, and another[c] to have been taken prisoner at Fecamp.[d]

The next notice of the army, in point of time, is on Friday the 11th of October, when

[a] *Chronicler* A.

[b] Geffrey Blake [c] William Bramshulf.

[d] The only writer who notices an affray at Fecamp is *Des Ursins*, who says, that "Henry proceeded from Harfleur to the abbey of Fecamp, where he placed a garrison who burnt the town; that great part of the inhabitants fled; that the remainder took refuge with their property, in the abbey; that the English sacrilegiously made a stable of the great altar, and of all the chapels; opened the coffers of the inhabitants, and carried off their effects; dragged the women from the church and ravished them; and that from thence the King went to Dieppe." p. 297. This statement is not credible, for Henry punished every excess, and more particularly against the Church, with the greatest severity; and by proclamations forbad, under pain of heavy punishment, any violence being offered to women.

it arrived at Arques,[a] a small town about four miles to the southward of Dieppe. Its route was within gun-shot of the castle of Arques, and Henry prepared for hostile operations, by taking up a position against that fortress, and appeared in person among his troops. Some shots were fired at them without doing any mischief, and a message was sent to the governor of the town, demanding a free passage. This request was granted, together with a supply of bread and wine for the troops, and the town and its vicinity escaped the flames with which it was threatened: they then marched through it, and found it fortified at the entrance by thick trees being thrown across the road.[b]

At Arques 11th October.

Attention must now be directed to the measures adopted by the French government to resist the invasion. The supineness and irresolution which characterized its councils, until Henry had actually laid siege to Harfleur, arose from the mental incapacity of the King, the youth of the Dauphin, and the rivalry and dissentions which existed between two powerful factions in that country. To these circumstances, the necessary consequence of which was a disorganized military force, Henry probably owed the conquest of that town; for though Marshal Boucicault was made captain of Normandy, and with the constable went to Rouen,[c] no effort was made to

Measures adopted by the French.

[a] *Chronicler* A. [b] *Ibid.*

[c] *Des Ursins*, p. 292. *Berry*, p. 428, says, that during the siege of Harfluer Boucicault was at Caudebec with 1,500 men-at-arms, and that the

Measures adopted by the French.

force the English to raise the siege, or to assist the garrison in its gallant defence. The imminent danger in which Harfleur was placed, roused the dormant energies of Charles's council, and summonses were sent throughout the kingdom, directing all his military vassals to repair without delay to the Dauphin, who left Paris for Normandy on the 1st of September,[a] being appointed captain-general. These orders were but tardily and partially obeyed, more particularly by the Lords of Picardy, who refused to attend without directions from the Duke of Burgundy, that Prince having desired them to neglect any commands which did not proceed from himself. On the arrival of news that Harfleur was reduced to the last extremity, letters were sent to the bailiff of Amiens, reproaching those lords and others, as the cause of that misfortune, from not having joined the army; and his Majesty exhorted them by every feeling of patriotism, and commanded them on their allegiance, to lose not a moment in arming themselves and hastening to the Dauphin. Aged persons were to send substitutes; and if any difficulties were offered in the execution of these orders, the lands of the offending parties were to be seized. The bailiff was likewise enjoined to use every means to compel attendance, and to

Constable was at Harfleur, watching the English. This statement is not supported by any other writer, and is extremely doubtful.

[a] *Journal de Paris*, sous le Regnes de Charles VI. et de Charles VII., printed in the "Memoires pour servir a l'Histoire de France, et de Bourgogne, from 1408 to 1448," 4to. 1729, p. 27.

send whatever cannon[a] and implements of war could be spared from the chief towns.[b] Measures adopted by the French.

Messengers were at the same time despatched to the Dukes of Orleans and Burgundy requiring each of them to furnish five hundred men-at-arms. These princes, with proper devotion to their country, forgot their mutual jealousies, and supported the common cause. Orleans immediately sent his soldiers, and soon afterwards followed in person; whilst Burgundy promised to do so, and though he did not himself appear, he readily furnished the forces demanded.[c]

Charles, after offering prayers for success against the English, at Notre Dame, received the Oriflamme from the Abbot and Convent with great ceremony, which he delivered to Guillaume Martel, Sire de Bacqueville, to bear; and open war was declared by displaying the sacred ensign.[d] His Majesty quitted Paris on the 9th of September, to follow the Dauphin:[e] he was at Vernon on the 7th, and arrived at Rouen before the 12th of October, where he found the Dauphin,[f] Charles left Paris for Normandy, 9th September.

[a] "Cannons et artilieries."

[b] According to every edition of *Monstrelet*, this letter was dated at Meulon on the *twentieth* of September. Harfleur did not agree to surrender until the *eighteenth*, and was not in Henry's hands until the *twenty-second*. So that it was scarcely possible for news of the capitulation, which was agreed to on the 18th, to have reached Meulon, a distance of above 120 miles, on the 20th. There is probably either a slight error in the date of that letter, or the expression relative to the surrender of Harfluer may have been used from the conviction that the loss of the place was inevitable.

[c] *Monstrelet—St. Remy*, p. 83. [d] *Laboureur*, pp. 1003, 1004.

[e] *Journal de Paris*, p. 27.

[f] *Des Ursins*, p. 297.—The *Journal de Paris*, says, that the King was at Vernon, and the Dauphin at Rouen, on the 14th of October.

Charles and the Dauphin at Rouen, 12th October.

Marshal Boucicault, the Count de Vendôsme, and the Admiral of France, with numerous other persons of rank. The greater part of the army were at that moment at Abbeville; but on learning the route which Henry had taken, they marched to Corbie, and thence to Peronne to guard the passes of the Somme.[a]

A Council held at Rouen, 20th October.

A Council was held at Rouen on the 20th of October,[b] consisting of the Duke of Anjou, who was styled King of Sicily, the Dukes of Berry and Brittany, the Count of Ponthieu, the King's youngest son, the Chancellors of France and Acquitaine, and other eminent individuals to deliberate on the state of affairs. After much discussion it was resolved, by a majority of thirty to five, that the English should be fought in a regular battle. Commands were instantly issued to the Constable and other chiefs to collect their forces without delay; and summonses to take the field were sent to every part of the realm. One feeling animated all hearts. Princes and nobles, men-at-arms and archers, peasants and trades-people, alike rushed to the royal standard; and never did the patriotism, for which the French are so

[a] *Monstrelet, Berry*, p. 428.

[b] In Johnes' translation of *Monstrelet*, the Council is said to have met at Rouen on the *thirtieth* of October, five days after the battle of Agincourt; but the editions of that Chronicler, of Verarde, of 1512, 1518, 1571, 1595, and 1603, the Council is stated to have assembled on the *twentieth* of October. As the English heard they were to be fought on the night of the 12th of that month, and as four days were scarcely sufficient to enable the Constable, who on the 20th was at some distance from Rouen, to collect so large an army as he commanded at Agincourt, it is more probable that the determination to risk a battle was formed before the *twentieth*.

distinguished, burn in a nobler cause. The Dauphin, emulating the general ardour, earnestly wished to disobey his father's commands, by joining the army; nor did he abandon the intention, until the Dukes of Anjou and Berry overcame him by their persuasions;[a] but force and stratagem were necessary to prevent the Count de Charolois, only son of the Duke of Burgundy, from obeying the call of honor; and if his grief and vexation are not exaggerated, he gave vent to his feelings in tears.[b]

French army assembled.

On Saturday the 12th of October, Henry passed about half a mile to the right of the town of Eu, where a part of the French army were quartered, who sallied upon the English in great numbers and with loud shouts; but they were soon repulsed, though with some loss on both sides; and the death of a valiant Frenchman in the rencontre, named Lancelot Pierres, as well as of his antagonist, are detailed with great minuteness by most of the writers of the age.[c] A treaty, similar to that entered into at Arques, was the same evening agreed to between the King and the inhabitants of Eu, and the army again received refreshments.[d] That night was

The English at Eu, 12th October.

[a] *Monstrelet.*

[b] *Ibid.* and *St. Remy*, p. 87. The number of the army which assembled will be noticed hereafter; and according to some authorities, a body of French troops retreated before the English, destroying and laying waste the country through which they had to pass; but they were spontaneously supplied with food by the peasantry; the last part of which statement is rendered doubtful by its great improbability.—*Elmham*, p. 52.

[c] *Chronicler* A; *Elmham*, p. 52. *Livius*, p. 13. *St. Remy*, p. 85, and *Monstrelet*, p. 226.

[d] *Chronicler* A.

The English at Eu, 12th October.

passed in the villages, in the vicinity of the town; and the English then heard from some prisoners, for the first time, that they were to be positively engaged by the whole of the French army, either on the next, or the succeeding day, whilst they were passing the river Somme.[a] This information was not, however, implicitly believed; for some argued, that the French could not summon their forces from the interior from the fear of the Duke of Burgundy; whilst others more rationally inferred, that the ancient military renown of France must be totally extinct before an enemy's army, of such contemptible numbers, would be allowed quietly to pass through that Kingdom.[b]

Henry intended to cross the Somme at Blanchetache.

Undismayed by these reports, and possibly deeming that it would be even more dangerous to retrace his steps than to advance, Henry proceeded on his route. It was his intention to cross the Somme at Blanchetache, where Edward the Third had passed, previous to the battle of Cresсy;[c] but when he came within two leagues of it, his advanced guard took one of the retinue of the Constable of France, prisoner, who falsely assured them that the passage there was defended by many noblemen with six thousand fighting men. On this intelligence being communicated to the King, he caused the prisoner to be brought into his presence; and having, in reply to his ques-

[a] *Chronicler* A. [b] *Ibid.*

[c] *St. Remy*, p. 85,—*Livius*, p. 13, who says, the passage was staked—and *Elmham*, p. 52.

tions, repeated the same statement, the army halted, and a council assembled to deliberate upon the subject. After two hours debate, it was resolved that they should proceed by another route. They accordingly marched higher up the Somme, and on Sunday the 13th of October, reached Abbeville, expecting to cross the next day; but to Henry's great disappointment, his scouts informed him that all the bridges were broken down, and that the French were collected on the opposite banks of the river to prevent his passage.[a]

Disappointed in crossing the Somme.

At Abbeville, 13th October.

The situation of the English at that moment, is described as being truly deplorable. Besides the obstacles which existed to their crossing the Somme, and the constant appearance of the enemy on the opposite banks, in numbers infinitely superior to their own, as well as the report that they were to be engaged at the first convenient opportunity, they were apprehensive that when the eight days' provisions which they brought with them were consumed, they should experience the horrors of famine, in consequence of their adversaries laying waste the country as they retreated before them; and still more, that on their arrival at the head of the river, then upwards of sixty miles distant, the French would take advantage of the smallness of their forces,

Condition of the English army.

[a] *St. Remy*, p. 85. To the person who gave Henry the information that Blanchetache was guarded, the French attributed their subsequent disaster; for, if the English had crossed there, they would have reached Calais without a battle. [b] *Chronicler* A.

Condition of the English army.

their exhaustion from the march, and their want of food, by attacking and annihilating them. Consistently with the duties of his profession, a priest who was present says, "I, who write, and many others looked bitterly up to heaven, and implored the divine mercy, and the protection of the Holy Virgin and England's tutelar Saint, St. George, to save us from the imminent perils by which we were surrounded, and enable us to reach Calais in safety."[a]

At Amiens 14th October.

On Monday the 14th, Henry passed Amiens at the distance of about a league; and on the following day arrived at the village of Boves, under the castle of which they were obliged to pass exposed to the enemy's shot. A parley was however held with the garrison, and hostages were given to the English, that they should be allowed to proceed unmolested, provided that no damage was done to the houses and vineyards.[b] The

At Boves 15th October.

army slept that night at Boves, and found such an abundance of wine, that the King was obliged to adopt measures to prevent his people from indulging to excess.[c] Having received some bread for the use of the soldiers, and left two gentlemen who were ill, to the care of the captain of the fortress, they quitted it on the next day; and

Near Corbie, 17th October.

on Thursday the 17th of October, reached a plain near Corbie.[d] In that town part of the French army were assembled, who sallied upon

[a] *Chronicler* A.
[b] *St. Remy*, p. 86.
[c] *Ibid.*
[d] *Chronicler* A.

them; but after a very spirited, though short, contest they were defeated with the loss of several killed and two prisoners, and obliged to retire.[a] On this occasion John Bromley, an English esquire, and a groom of the King's chamber, so particularly signalized himself by recovering the standard of Guienne, which had been captured, that he was allowed to bear it for his crest, as a perpetual memorial of his valour; and two years afterwards he received a grant of an annuity for his services, from Sir Hugh Stafford, Knight, Lord Bouchier.[b] Near Corbie, Henry supported the discipline of his army, by carrying into execution the punishment denounced in his proclamation against robbery and sacrilege.[c] One of his soldiers was discovered to have stolen a pix of copper-gilt, from a church in the neighbourhood, under the idea that it was gold, which he concealed in his sleeve; and on the army reaching the village where it took up its quarters for the ensuing night, the culprit was immediately hung.[d] But, agreeably to another writer,[e] the moment the crime was discovered, Henry ordered them to halt; and having caused the sacred vessel to be restored, the offender was led bound through the ranks as a thief, and then hung on a tree, so

Attacked near Corbie, 17th October.

A soldier executed for sacrilege.

[a] *Chronicler* A., and *Elmham*.

[b] *Hollingshed*, and a deed dated 10th March, 1417, in the Herald's *Visitation of Staffordshire*, printed in Collins' *Peerage*, ed. 1779, vol. viii. p. 312. It is given at length in a subsequent page.

[c] See pages 52 and 82, *ante*.

[d] *Chronicler* A.

[e] *Livius*; *Elmham* adds, that he was hung close to the church which he robbed.

that he might be seen, as an example, by the whole of his comrades.

A report was about that time circulated, on the authority of some prisoners, that the French had appointed several troops of horse to break through the English archers, upon which the King, with great judgment, issued the order that so mainly contributed to his success. He commanded that each archer should provide himself with a stake six feet in length, sharpened at the ends; and that when attacked by cavalry, he should place the pole before him, sloping towards the enemy, so as to form a kind of chevaux de frise.[a]

Near Nesle, 18th October.

On the day after they quitted Corbie, they passed close to Nesle, and were quartered in farm-houses in its vicinity.[b] According to a French historian, Henry was received there with great respect, the walls of the town being hung with scarlet stuffs;[c] but a very different, and much more probable, report, is given by the English chronicler that accompanied the army, who states, that on approaching that town, the King desired the inhabitants to redeem the farm-houses from destruction; but this being refused, he ordered them to be set on fire on the following morning, and he was only diverted from his design, by being informed that a passage over the Somme was at length discovered, at about a league distant.[d]

[a] *Chronicler* A.
[b] *Ibid.*
[c] *St. Remy*, p. 86.
[d] *Chronicler* A.

The French still contented themselves with proceeding before him, and guarding the passages of the Somme; having, it may be inferred, adopted the judicious policy of allowing the English to weaken their bodily energies by fatigue and hunger, and their mental by anxiety and disappointment. The Constable was at Abbeville when Henry was near that town, and being well advised of his route went from thence to Corbie, and from Corbie to Peronne, keeping sufficiently near the English to guard all the passages.[a] Proceedings of the French.

It was indispensable that they should cross the Somme; for to retreat to Harfleur, after the conduct which Henry had adopted, would not only cover him with dishonour, but it was scarcely less dangerous than to advance, as his ships had returned to England; hence, unless he could have reached Harfleur in safety, and, if he had succeeded in that object, unless he could likewise have sustained a siege against the whole French army united, he had no other alternative than to force his way to Calais at all hazards. In the mean time, Sir William Bardolf, Lieutenant of Calais, having intimation of the King's danger, sent part of the garrison of that place, to the number of three hundred men-at-arms, to his assistance; but they were defeated on their march, and such of the detachment as escaped being slain were made prisoners, by the people of Picardy.[b] Necessity of crossing the Somme.

[a] *St. Remy*, p. 86.

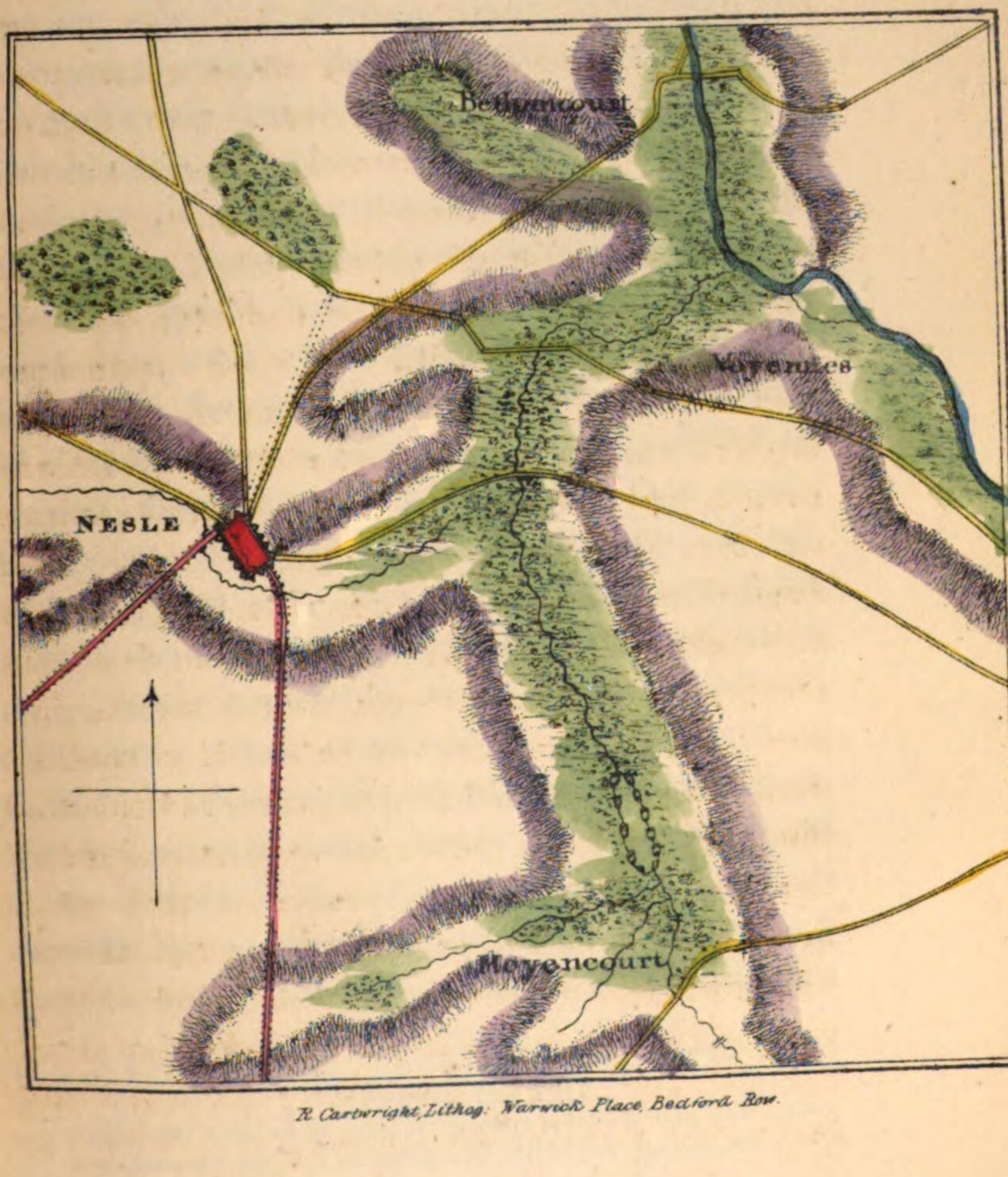
[b] *Laboureur*, p. 1007; and *Des Ursins*, p. 310, who says, some of them succeeded in escaping to Calais.

A passage discovered 19th October.

The moment Henry received the welcome intelligence that a passage over the Somme was found, he sent forward an advanced guard of horse to try the depth of the ford and the velocity of the river, and immediately followed with the main body.[a] On that occasion he was placed in considerable peril; for in approaching the Somme, he crossed a marsh about a mile from it, through which a small rivulet ran, and he was thus shut up in a corner, between the two rivers; though fortunately without the enemy being aware of the circumstance.[b] Upon arriving at the place to which he had been directed, he found two fords, neither of which was deeper than a horse's belly. The road to them was through two long narrow causeways, which the French had broken up, so that it was difficult for two abreast to ride through them. Sir John Cornwall, and Sir Gilbert Umfreville, with a detachment consisting of lancers on foot, and archers, were instantly sent across, for the purpose of protecting the others on their landing, from an attack;[c] and Henry proceeded to adopt the most vigorous measures for the passage of the rest. This scene is described with great minuteness; and nothing could surpass the personal exertions of the King. He caused the broken parts of the causeways to be filled up with wood, fascines, and straw, until three persons could easily ride abreast: the baggage was ordered to

[a] *Chronicler* A. [b] *Ibid.* See the accompanying map. [c] *Ibid.*

MAP shewing the dangerous situation of **HENRY V.** before crofsing the **SOMME**, 19th October 1415. — *see page 94.*



R. Cartwright, Lithog. Warwick Place, Bedford Row.

be conveyed over one of the causeways, and the men crossed by the second; whilst his Majesty placed himself at one entrance, and some officers on the other, to preserve order, and to prevent their crowding, and blocking up the passage:[a] by these means many soon gained the opposite side.[b] A French writer, who says he was present, states, that when the army reached the banks they destroyed several houses, and used the materials, together with ladders, doors, and windows, in the construction of a bridge, on which they passed the river; and that when the advanced guard had crossed, the horses were taken over, after which the rear-guard followed.[c] Before one hundred persons had crossed, a body of French horse, which had been appointed to prevent their passage, marched towards them: they were immediately met by the English advanced guard of cavalry, by which time a great part of the army had forded the river and taken up so strong a position, that the enemy halted; and after a short consultation retreated out of sight.[d] It appears that the passage of the Somme did not occupy many hours, as it commenced at one o'clock in the afternoon, and they had all crossed by an hour before night.[e] Although there is some discrepancy between the different

Passage of the Somme, 19th October.

[a] *Chronicler* A. [b] *Ibid.* [c] *St. Remy*, p. 86.
[d] *Chronicler* A.

[e] *Ibid.* *St. Remy*, p. 86, says, the passage occupied them from eight in the morning until dusk, but he includes in this period the time they were employed in constructing a bridge.

Passage of the Somme.

writers of the period,[a] as to the place, and the manner, in which Henry effected this important object, there can be little doubt that it took place on Saturday, the 19th of October, from the immediate vicinity of Nesle; and probably at Voyenne,[b] which agrees with the statement that they passed the night in some farm-houses near the villages of Athies and Monchy la Gache.[c]

When the immense force of the French is considered, it is not a little extraordinary that they should have been suffered to pass the Somme unmolested. It perhaps arose from the contemptible opinion which their adversaries entertained of their numbers, though one writer attributes it to the negligence of the division which was specially appointed to prevent it;[c] and it may be presumed that the French relied upon destroying them in a regular battle, whenever they pleased, after they had crossed that river. The joy which possessed the English, at having surmounted the obstacle that had so long impeded their march, and their hopes that the French army would not attack them, and that in about eight days they would reach Calais,[d] were but of short duration.

[a] *Monstrelet* says, Henry crossed the Somme by the passage of Voyenne and Bethencourt, on the 19th of October. *Pierre de Fenin* states, that when Henry found he could not cross the Somme at Blanchetache, he went to Pont de Remy, and assaulted Bille, [Bailleul] with the view of passing there, but that place being valiantly defended by its Lord, Vancour and his two sons, he marched to Aran, [Ayraines] and thence to Amiens, crossed the Somme at Esclusier, and lodged at the tower of Miraumont.

[b] *St. Remy*, p. 86. *Monstrelet* says, at Monchy La Gache.

[c] *Monstrelet*, ed. 1595, p. 226, and *St. Remy*, p. 86.

[d] *Chronicler A.*

French Heralds sent to Henry, 20th October.

On the following day, Sunday, October 20th, three Heralds arrived from the Dukes of Orleans and Bourbon, to acquaint Henry with their resolution to fight him before he reached Calais, though, according to an English chronicler,[a] without assigning the day or place; but Des Ursins affirms that they appointed the ensuing Saturday, and that Henry was much rejoiced at the intimation.[b] His interview with the Heralds, which occurred at, or near Monchy la Gache and Athies,[c] was extremely interesting. They were first brought to the Duke of York, and were by him presented to the King, before whom they fell upon their knees, and having received his permission to speak, delivered their message to the following purport; that the French lords having learnt that it was his intention to subdue their country, had assembled for its defence, and in support of their Sovereign's rights and their own; and that before he reached Calais they would give him battle, to be revenged of his conduct. Henry, with a firm countenance, without changing colour, or evincing the slightest agitation or displeasure, mildly replied, that "all would be done according to the will of God." The Heralds then inquired by which route he intended to proceed, and were told, *"Straight to Calais, and

[a] *Chronicler* A. [b] *Des Ursins*, p. 314.

[c] The place is not mentioned, but as it was before he reached Peronne, and on the day after he took up his quarters, after crossing the Somme, it must have been near Athies. It would appear that Henry passed the Sunday there.

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French Heralds sent to Henry.

if my enemies attempt to prevent me, it will be at their peril; I shall not seek them, but the fear of them will not induce me to deviate from my route, nor will the sight of them cause me to quicken my pace:" and he concluded by advising them not to interrupt his march, or to produce an effusion of christian blood. He then ordered a hundred gold crowns to be given to the Heralds, and they returned to their camp.[a] Such, with a few slight variations, is the account of two English writers of the time; but St. Remy says, that the King did not make any answer to the Heralds, and that he sent two of his own officers of arms to the French camp with a reply, to the same effect as that which has been related:[b] the former is however the more probable statement. From that moment Henry and all his followers constantly wore their 'cotes d'armes,' in readiness for battle:[c]

Henry addresses his army.

and soon after the departure of the Heralds, he addressed his army with great tenderness and spirit,[d] and prepared for the combat on the next day; but to his surprise, finding none to oppose him he proceeded on his journey.[e]

[a] *Titus Livius*, p. 14. *Elmham*, p. 55. *Des Ursins*, p. 314, says the Heralds were rewarded with 200 crowns and a robe. [b] *St. Remy*, p. 87.

[c] *Ibid.* 'Cotes d'armes' were literally 'coats of arms,' or jupons embroidered with the arms of the owner, then the usual costume in the field of persons entitled to bear coat armour. They are now called tabards, and are only worn by Heralds.

[d] *Des Ursins*, p. 316, pretends to give Henry's speech on the occasion, in which, after exhorting them to keep up their spirits and rely on Providence, and the justice of his cause, he is made to promise that such of his soldiers as were not noble, should be ennobled, and, that they might be known, he gave them permission to wear collars of S.S. of his livery. The improbability of this circumstance is too obvious to entitle it to any credit.

[e] *Chronicler* A.

Route after crossing the Somme.

Henry's route, after he crossed the Somme, is imperfectly noticed by the priest who has been so copiously quoted, but St. Remy and Monstrelet, with whose statements those of that writer agree, afford ample information on the subject. From Athies and Monchy la Gache, which he seems to have quitted early on Monday, the 21st of October, he proceeded to Doingt near Peronne.

Near Peronne, 21st October.

On passing a little to the right of Peronne, on that day,[a] a party of French cavalry advanced, with the view of enticing Henry to pursue them within shot of the place; but on the English horse making a stand, they quickly retreated into the town.[b] Traces of the French army were discerned when he had advanced about a mile beyond Peronne, where he found the roads trodden by them, as if many thousand persons had lately been there.[b] This sight naturally discouraged the English; and, to judge from the pious exclamations of a priest who was with them, they appealed to Heaven from that despair which seizes on the heart when it feels that nothing short of supernatural aid can avert an impending danger.[c]

It is not certain where they rested on the night of the 21st, but probably between Peronne and Ancre,[d] towards which town they marched

[a] Note to *Hardyng's Chronicle.* [b] *Chronicler* A. [c] *Ibid.*

[d] Now called *Albert*. *St. Remy*, p. 88, says, that after Henry crossed the Somme he lodged near Athies, then went to Doingt near Peronne, and afterwards lodged at Miraumont and its vicinity, where he heard for certain that he was to be fought: from thence he proceeded towards Encre, and lodged at Forcheville. *Monstrelet* states that after passing the Somme the English lodged at Monchy la Gache, towards [vers] the *river* Miraumont, and then

At Forcheville, 22nd October.

the next morning, and slept on the night of Tuesday the 22nd at a village called Forcheville, the army being quartered at Acheu and other villages in the immediate neighbourhood. The following morning, Wednesday the 23rd, Henry continued his route towards Lucheu,[a] passing, it appears, between it and Doulens,[b] and lodged that night at Bonnieres, the advanced guard, under the Duke of York, being at Frevent, on the river Canche.[c]

At Bonnieres, 23rd October.

When the English arrived at Monchy la Gache the French retired to Bapaume,[d] and thence proceeded with great expedition to the town of St. Pol.[e] Early on the next day, Thursday the 24th, Henry crossed the Canche, probably at Frevent, and marched towards Blangy on the river Ternoise, or as it is called by all the English writers, the river of Swords. Learning from his scouts that several thousands of the enemy were collected on the opposite side of the river Ternoise, about a league to his right,[f] he sent to ascertain if the passage was protected, but finding

Crosses the Canche, 24th October.

went towards Encre, and took up his quarters at Forcheville, and his people at Acheu. By "Miraumont," *St. Remy* must mean, that on the night of Monday, the 21st of October, Henry rested somewhere near the *river* of that name, because the *village* of Miraumont lies out of the road from Doingt to Ancre and Forcheville—See the MAP. *St. Remy* does not mention where the Heralds met the English, but he infers that it was near Miraumont; whereas, it is presumed, the interview took place near Monchy la Gache, which village, it is to be observed, *Monstrelet* says, was towards the river Miraumont.

[a] *St. Remy*, p. 88.

[b] Doulens seems to be the walled town mentioned by the *Chronicler* A. one league to the right of which he says they passed.

[c] *St. Remy*, p. 88. *Monstrelet*, ed. 1566, p. 227, and *Pierre de Fenin*, pp. 459, 460. [d] *Monstrelet*. [e] *Ibid.*

[f] *Chronicler* A.

it undefended,[a] he crossed it as quickly as possible. Livius[b] and Elmham[c] say, that when the King knew he must cross the Ternoise, he sent a detachment to prevent the bridge from being destroyed; that they found the enemy trying to break it down, whom they attacked; and after a severe conflict, in which some were taken and others wounded,[d] they succeeded in capturing it. No sooner had they passed the Ternoise, and ascended the hill on the other side,[e] not far from Maisoncelle, than a scout came, trembling and out of breath, to the Duke of York, and informed him that the enemy were approaching in immense numbers. Having ascertained the truth of the report, the Duke acquainted the King,[f] who instantly ordered the main body, which he led, to halt, and, setting spurs to his horse, hastened to view the French, who resembled an immense forest, covering the country in all directions.[g] Undismayed by their formidable appearance, he returned to his troops, ordered them to dismount,[h] and made the necessary arrangements for battle, animating his men no less by the calm intrepidity of his deportment than by his language.[i] When the French were first seen, they were emerging

Crosses the Ternoise, 24th October.

The French Army seen.

[a] *St. Remy*, p. 88. [b] p. 15. [c] p. 56

[d] It was probably in this skirmish that Lewis Cadowen, who is said to have been killed before the battle, lost his life—See the List of the MEN-AT-ARMS who were at Agincourt. *St. Remy*, p. 89, says, however, that the passage of the Ternoise was undefended.

[e] *Titus Livius*, p. 15, *Elmham*, p. 56, and *Chronicler* A.

[f] *Titus Livius*, p. 15, *Elmham*, p. 57.

[g] *Elmham*, p. 57. [h] *St. Remy*, p. 88.

[i] *Elmham*, *Livius*, *Chronicler* A., and *St. Remy*, p. 89.

The French Army seen.

in three columns from a valley, about a mile off; and, having formed into battalions, they halted at the distance of half a mile, "filling," to use the emphatic words of an eye-witness, "a very large field as with an innumerable host of locusts,"[a] a small valley being between the two armies.

Superstition of Henry.

An anecdote is recorded which shews how anxious Henry was to avoid doing any thing which the superstition of his soldiers, or perhaps his own, might interpret into a bad omen, and which is characteristic both of himself and of the age. After quitting Bonnieres for Blangy, he came to a village where his harbingers intended he should rest, but not being aware of the circumstance he rode beyond it, and when told that he had passed his quarters, he stopped, and said, that as he was habited in his 'cote d'armes,' it would be displeasing to God if he should turn back: he therefore proceeded to the place assigned to his advanced guard, which he caused to march farther on.[b]

[a] *Chronicler* A.

[b] *St. Remy*, p. 88. It may also be observed, as an instance of the contradictory statements of contemporary writers, that, according to *Monstrelet*, five hundred Knights were made by the French on the day before the battle; whilst *St. Remy* says, this number were dubbed in the English army on that day. *Hall* and *Hollingshed* however state, in accordance with the *Harleian* MS., 782, that when Henry expected the French would give him battle near the bridge of St. Maxence, "to encourage his captains the more, he dubbed certain of his hardy and valiant gentlemen Knights, as John Lord Ferrers of Groby, Reginald Greystock, Piers Tempest, Christopher Moresby, Thomas Pickering,* William Hudleston,* John Osbalton, Henry Mortimer, Philip Hall, and William his brother, Jaques de Ormond, and divers others." Of these persons, only those to whose names this mark * is affixed, are mentioned as having agreed to serve in the expedition, and as they were at that time only esquires, the statement that they were

Discrepancies of Historians as to Henry's route.

Some important discrepancies occur between the account of the French army in the historian published by Laboureur, and the statements of almost every other writer. He says, and in which he is supported by Pierre de Fenin,[a] that, instead of its having preceded Henry in his march, it closely pursued him; and so positively does he speak of the French having followed the English, that he deems the order to abandon the pursuit of them, as one cause of their not having been completely destroyed.[b] The French forces, he observes, were ordered to follow Henry's route and to keep in the villages, excepting at night, which directions would have been attended with success, if the army had been formed of real soldiers, or rather, if it had not been a confused mass, composed of "canaille" and vagabonds, who enrolled themselves under the princes less with the intention of defending than pillaging, their country; and, he adds, excepting by fire and murder they committed even greater ravages than the English. He says also, that in the beginning of October the King of France came to Rouen, with an army of fourteen thousand men-at-arms, under distinguished leaders, animated by the strongest desire

knighted receives some support. The name of Lord Ferrers of Chartley, in 1415, was *Edmund*, and of Lord Ferrers of Groby, *William*, the former who was then about twenty-five years of age, was probably the person alluded to, as he contracted to accompany the expedition. A *Robert* Moresby, a *John* Pykeringe, and two persons of the name of *John* Hall were in the battle; a Sir *Richard* Tempest, Knt. contracted to furnish six men-at-arms for the expedition, and a *John* Mortimer, Esq. obtained letters of protection.

[a] p. 459. [b] *Laboureur*, p. 1007.

Discrepancies of Historians as to Henry's route.

of revenge; and that so confident were they of success, that when the citizens of Paris offered to send six thousand men well armed, to fight in the front ranks, one of the Duke of Berry's suite, on hearing the Prince praise this body, ridiculed the idea of its being useful, exclaiming, "What do we want of the assistance of these shopkeepers, for we are three times as many as the English?"[a] But these statements are at least suspicious, from the manifest errors that occur in other parts of his narrative; as he asserts that the English proceeded through forests from Harfleur by Gournay,[b] in Beauvois, twenty-two leagues from the sea, and that it was not until they had been four days on their march, that, from the fear of being surrounded by the French army, they took the road to Amiens;[c] when it has, it is presumed, been proved that Henry reached that place by a different route.[d] The description of the pitiable condition of the invaders, from hunger and other privations, stands however upon a better foundation; for if it be not directly confirmed, it is at

[a] *Laboureur*, pp. 1005, 1006.

[b] *Des Ursins* also says, the English proceeded towards Gournay and Amiens, p. 310. [c] *Laboureur*, p. 1006.

[d] The following is *Monstrelet's* account of Henry's route, which agrees very nearly with that which is adopted in this work:—Left Harfleur the 6th or 9th of October—Disappointed at Blanchetache, and slept at Arrames the 12th—Slept at Bailleul the 13th—Repulsed at Pont St Remy, and slept at Hangest the 14th—Repulsed at Ponteau de Mer, and slept at Boves the 15th—Slept at Herbonnieres the 16th—Slept at Wauvilliers the 17th—Slept at Bainvilliers the 18th—Crossed the Somme, and slept at Monchy la Gache the 19th—Marched by Encre, and slept at Forcheville the 22nd—Marched by Lucheu, and slept at Bonnieres the 23rd—Passed through Blangy to Maisoncelle the 24th.

least hinted at, by the English writers who were present. Preparations for Battle, 24th October.

The menacing position of the French army, on Thursday the 24th, convinced the English that they were to be immediately attacked; and as soon as they were drawn up in order of battle, they directed their thoughts to religious offices. Many of them fell on their knees, and with clapsed hands implored the protection of God;[a] and each was so eager to cleanse his conscience by a confession of his sins, that they experienced no other want in their camp than that of priests.[b] Henry's intrepid spirit displayed itself upon this occasion in a very characteristic manner. Sir Walter Hungerford having expressed regret in his presence that they had not with them ten thousand of those English archers who, if they knew his situation, would be desirous to be there, the King rebuked him for so vain a wish, saying, "he spoke idly, for as his hope was in God, in whom he trusted for victory, he would not, if he could, increase his forces even by a single person, for if it was the pleasure of the Almighty, few as were his followers, they were sufficient to chastise the confidence of the enemy, who relied on their numbers;"[c] and he exhorted his men with firmness and cheerfulness, to behave worthy of themselves and of their country.

After having attentively examined the Eng-

[a] *St. Remy*, p. 89. [b] *Chronicler* A.

[c] *Chronicler* A., *Elmham*, and *Livius*.

Preparations for Battle, 24th October.

lish, the French troops entered a plain beyond a wood on their left, between the two armies, on the road to Calais.[a] Henry, conjecturing that it was their intention either to march round the wood and attack him from that quarter, or to make a circuit of the distant forests and surround him, posted himself opposite to them.[b] About sun-set the French took up their quarters in the orchards and villages[c] of Agincourt and Ruissauville,[d] and made so much clamour by each person calling for his servant or comrade, that they were heard by the English, who imitated their example, until the King commanded them to preserve silence upon pain of the usual penalties attending a breach of discipline.[e] Henry's object was then to procure lodgings for his soldiers, who were without food, and exhausted by their day's march, but none could be found, until "providentially," they were directed by a light to the village of Maisoncelle, where their wants were better supplied than on any preceding night since they quitted Harfleur; and a small cottage or hut afforded the King shelter from the weather.[f]

Night of 24th October: the French retire to Agincourt

The English take up their quarters at Maisoncelle.

Prisoners allowed to depart.

Before the English quitted their position to go to Maisoncelle, Henry permitted all his prisoners to depart, upon condition that if he gained the approaching battle, they should return and surrender themselves; but if he were defeated they were to be released from their engagements.[g] As

[a] *Chronicler* A. [b] *Ibid.* [c] *Ibid.* [d] *Pierre de Fenin*, p. 460.
[e] *Ibid.* See Henry's Regulations for his Army, in the APPENDIX.
[f] *Titus Livius*, p. 15, *Elmham*, p. 59. [g] *St. Remy*, p. 89.

soon as the French found that a battle would not take place that evening, the Constable commanded every man to remain where he was during the night; and they immediately furled their banners, laid aside their armour, and unpacked part of their baggage, whilst the nobles sent to the neighbouring villages for straw and litter to place under their feet, and to sleep upon.[a] The armies were about a mile from each other,[b] the French being in the villages of Agincourt and Ruissauville, and the English near Maisoncelle. Heavy rain fell nearly the whole night,[c] and the soldiers in both camps suffered severely from cold, wet, and fatigue.[d]

Preparations in French Army for a bivouack.

It was passed in a manner strictly consistent with their relative situations. The French, confident in their numbers, occupied the hours not appropriated to sleep in calculating upon their success, and, in full security of a complete victory, played at dice with each other for the disposal of their prisoners, an archer being valued at a blank, and the more important persons in proportion;[e] whilst the English prepared their weapons for the morrow, and then made their peace with God by confessing their sins and receiving the sacrament.[f]

Manner in which the two armies passed the night before the Battle.

[a] *St. Remy*, p. 89.

[b] *Elmham*, p. 59, estimates the distance at a quarter of an English mile: *Titus Livius*, p. 15, says, the distance between the armies was 250 paces: *Pierre de Fenin* calçulates it at not more than four bow-shots: and *Monstrelet* at three bow-shots. It is to be observed, however, that Ruissauville is two miles and a half, and Agincourt rather more than a mile, from Maisoncelle.

[c] *Chronicler* A., *St. Remy*, p. 89. [d] *Monstrelet*, *St. Remy*.

[e] *Chronicler* A.; *Lydgate*; Cottonian MS. *Claudius*, A. viii.

[f] *Monstrelet* says that the English played on their trumpets and other musical instruments during the night; whilst *St. Remy*, with more consistency, states that they preserved entire silence.

A Skirmish.

During the night the Count of Richemont, by command of the Duke of Orleans, advanced with two thousand men-at-arms and archers close to the English, but, suspecting that it was intended to surprise them, they drew up in order of battle, and an attack commenced. The skirmish did not last long, and the French retired to their quarters, after which nothing more was attempted until morning: upon this occasion, the Duke of Orleans, and several others received the honour of knighthood.[a] It is said that the French, thinking that the stillness which prevailed among their enemies arose from fear, lighted fires, and planted strong guards to prevent their decamping.[b] Although they were abundantly supplied with waggons, guns, serpentines, balisters for throwing stones, and all other military stores, it is remarked that they had little music to cheer their spirits, and that during the whole night not one of their horses was heard to neigh, which was deemed an unfavorable omen.[c] About the middle of the night, before the moon set, Henry sent persons to examine the ground, by whose report he was better able to draw up his forces on the next day.[d]

From the contradictory statements on the subject, it is impossible to make an accurate calculation of the amount of the French army; but the following are the assertions of contemporary writers:

[a] *Monstrelet*, ed. 1569, p. 227.[b] [b] *Chronicler A.*
[c] *St. Remy*, p. 90, and *Monstrelet*. [d] *Elmham*, p. 59.

ENGLISH WRITERS.

Chronicler A.	60,000 fighting men.	Amount of the French Army.
Ibid.	Thirty times as many as the English.	
Otterbourne[a]	60,000	
Chronicler in the Harleian MS. 565	120,000 fighting men.	
Ibid. in the Cottonian MS. *Cleopatra*, C. iv.	60,000 men-at-arms.	
Hardyng	100,000 fighting men.	
Records of the City of Salisbury[b]	100,000 fighting men.	
Sir William Bardolf[c]	150,000 or more.	
Chronicle in St. Peter's College, Cambridge.[d]	100,000 men and upwards.	
Walsyngham	140,000	
Harleian MS. 782	150,000 men.	

For Elmham and Titus Livius' account, see p. 75.

FRENCH WRITERS.

Monstrelet.[e]	150,000 fighting men.
Ibid.	Six times as many as the English.
St. Remy[f]	Full 50,000 men.
Ibid[g]	Three times as many as the English.
Berry, first Herald to Charles VI.[h]	10,000 men-at-arms.

Pierre de Fenin[i] says, the French were beyond comparison many more than the English.

At day-break on Friday, the 25th of October, the French drew up in order of battle, in three lines, in the plain of Agincourt, through which was the route to Calais. The advanced guard, under D'Albret, the Constable and commander-in- Preparations for Battle, 25th of October.

[a] p. 276-7. [b] *Lansdowne* MS. 1054, f. 55.
[c] *Fœdera*, vol. ix. p. 314. [d] *Leland's Collectanea*, vol. i. p. 487.
[e] Ed. 1595, p. 227[b]. [f] p. 90. [g] p. 91. [h] p. 430.
[i] p. 460. The *Journal de Paris* states, that the French were "plus la moitie que les Anglois."—p. 27.

Preparations for Battle, 25th of October.

chief, consisted of infantry,[a] to the amount of about eight thousand bacinets, knights, and esquires,[b] four thousand archers, and fifteen hundred cross-bows,[c] who were behind the men-at-arms,[d] and contained the greater part of the French nobility, each of whom eagerly sought this post of honour.[d] In this division were the Dukes of Orleans and Bourbon, and the Counts d'Eu and Richemont, Marshal Boucicault, the master of the cross-bows, Dampierre, admiral of France, and other distinguished officers.[e] The main body was composed of the same number as the advanced guard, and in it were the Dukes of Bar and Alençon, the Counts of Nevers, Vaudemont, Blamont, Salines, Grandpré and Roussy.[f] In the rear-guard were placed the remainder of the men-at-arms, under the orders of the Counts of Marle, Dampmartin, Fauquembergh, and the Lord of Lonroy, who brought with him some soldiers from the frontiers of Boulonois.[g] One wing, commanded by the Count de Vendôsme, consisting of sixteen hundred men-at-arms, was ordered to attack the flank of the English; whilst the other wing, led by Sir Clignet de Brabant and Mons[r] Louis de Bourbon, with eight hundred picked men-at-arms on horseback,[h] was to break their line.[i]

As soon as they were formed, they seated

[a] *Chronicler* A.; *Laboureur*, p. 1009. [b] *St. Remy*, p. 90.
[c] *Monstrelet*, p. 228, *et seq.* [d] *Chronicler* A.; *Des Ursins*, p. 314.
[e] *St Remy*, p. 90; *Monstrelet.* [f] *St. Remy*, p. 91. [g] *Ibid.*
[h] *Chronicler* A. and *St. Remy*, p. 91. [i] *St. Remy* and *Monstrelet.*

themselves in companies, as near as possible to their respective banners awaiting the approach of the English. Their disputes were amicably terminated, and they mutually forgave each other, and embraced, and having taken refreshments, they remained in this situation until between nine and ten o'clock, cheerful, and confident of victory.[a] The columns, according to one writer, contained thirty-one men in line,[b] though another only rates them at above twenty men;[c] and so great was the number of banners that many were ordered to be furled and removed.[d] The men-at-arms were incumbered by the weight of their armour to such a degree as to be nearly incapable of moving: they wore heavy breast and back-plates of steel, which reached to their knees, besides armour for their legs, and hausse-cols which were placed over the camail that hung from the bacinet.[e] The manner in which the French army was drawn up was extremely injudicious, as it formed two sharp fronts, increasing like horns, towards the rear,[f] between woods, the one close to Agincourt, and the other near Tramecourt, in a space

Preparations for Battle, 25th of October.

[a] *St. Remy*, p. 91, and *Monstrelet*. [b] *Titus Livius*, p. 17.

[c] *Elmham*, p. 62. Dr. Lingard suggests that the statements of *Elmham* and *Livius* agree, and that "xx" in the former, is an error.

[d] *St. Remy*, p. 92—*Elmham*, p. 63, says, there were more banners and other ensigns in the French army, than men-at-arms in the English.

[e] *St. Remy*, p. 92. See also a note on this passage, by Dr. Meyrick, in the APPENDIX. Monsieur Mazas, in a note to the *Life of Marshal Boucicault*, states, that the casque and cuirass worn by Ferri de Lorraine, who was killed in the battle, are preserved in the Musée d'Artillerie, at Paris, and that these articles alone weigh ninety pounds—*Vies des Grands Capitaines Français*, tome v. p. 609.

[f] *Titus Livius*, p. 19.

Preparations for Battle, 25th of October.

wholly unfit for the movements of such an immense body,[a] whilst the English lines which extended as far as the field would allow,[b] were most advantageously posted;[c] and the inconveniences under which the French laboured were much increased by the state of the ground, which was not only soft from heavy rains,[d] but was broken up by their horses during the preceding night, the weather having obliged the valets and pages to keep them in motion.[e] Thus, the statement of French historians may readily be credited that from the ponderous armour with which the men-at-arms were enveloped, and the softness of the ground, it was with the utmost difficulty they could either move or lift their weapons, notwithstanding their lances had been shortened to enable them to fight closely; that the horses at every step sunk so deeply into the mud, that it required great exertion to extricate them; and that the narrowness of the place caused their archers to be so crowded as to prevent them from drawing their bows.[f] A number of guns[g] was placed on their flanks, an advantage which there is reason to believe was not possessed by the English.

Henry rose with the earliest dawn, and immediately heard mass.[h] He was habited in his

[a] *St. Remy*, p. 92, and *Livius*, p. 17. [b] *Livius*, p. 19.
[c] *St. Remy*, p. 92. [d] The *Arundel* MS. No. xlvii. f. 238, in the College of Arms, says, "la ou les François estoient en la terre y molle qu'ilz yfondrient." [e] *St. Remy*, p. 92. [f] *Ibid.* p. 92.
[g] *Livius*, p. 17; *Elmham*, p. 63. [h] *Chronicler* A., *St. Remy*, p. 89.

"cote d'armes," containing the arms of France and England quarterly, and wore on his bacinet a magnificent crown.[a] Being equipped for action, he mounted a small grey horse,[b] and without commanding the trumpets to sound, ordered his men out of their quarters, and drew them up in order of battle upon a fine plain of young corn.[c] The baggage and the sick were left near Maisoncelle, with ten lances and twenty archers to protect them:[d] the priests, who were commanded to offer prayers for his success, were stationed at the same place; and one of them, whose narrative has afforded important information, says he was sitting with the other clergy on horseback among the baggage during the battle, at a short distance in the rear, imploring the divine aid in favour of their Sovereign.[e] The main body of the English army consisting of men-at-arms was commanded by Henry in per-

Preparations for battle by the English, 25th October.

[a] *St. Remy*, p. 89. An idea may be formed of the crown worn by Henry at Agincourt, the peculiar magnificence of which is noticed by almost every writer of the time, from the following description and valuation of one which belonged to him in the list of his effects on the Rolls of Parliament, vol. iv. p. 215, and it is probable, that it was the identical diadem in question.

"La Corone d'or pur le Basinet, garniz de iiij Baleis, pris cxxxiij *li* vj *s* viij *d*—iiij Saph', pris le Saph' x *li*, xl *li*—iiij^{xx} gros Perles, pris le pec' lx *s*, ccxl *li*—cxxviij Perles, pris le pec' x *s*, lxiiij *li*—iiij Baleis, pris le pec' xiij *li* vj *s* viij *d*, lxiij *li* vj *s* viij *d*—xvj Saph', pris le pec' iiij *li*, lxiiij *li*—et l'or pois' vj *lb*' *di* unc', pris le *lb*' xiiij *li*, iiij^{xx} iiij *li* xj *s* viij *d*—en tout vj clxxix *li*. v *s*."

The same list contains several articles which had belonged to the Duke of Bourbon, and which it is most likely were part of the spoils of the battle.

[b] *St. Remy*, p. 89. "A noble horse as white as snow," says *Elmham*, p. 61; who also states that several led horses, in the richest trappings, followed the king.

[c] *St. Remy*, p. 89, and *Walsyngham*. [d] *St. Remy*, p 89.

[e] *Chronicler* A. and *Elmham*, p. 65.

Preparations for battle by the English, 25th October.

son: the vanguard, which at the particular request of the Duke of York was committed to his charge,[a] was posted as a wing to the right; and the rear-guard, commanded by Lord Camois, as a wing on the left. The archers were placed between the wings, in the form of a wedge, with their poles fixed before them to defend them from an attack of cavalry;[b] and the flanks were protected by hedges, and coppices.[c] A small party of scouts was dispatched to the back of the village of Agincourt, but not finding any soldiers there, they set fire to a house and barn belonging to the Priory of St. George of Hesdin, to alarm the enemy.[d] According to Monstrelet, two hundred archers were sent to the rear of the army, with orders to enter the village of Tramecourt secretly, near the French advanced guard, and to remain quietly until the proper time to use their bows, with the intention of attacking them from that side; but St. Remy, who is entitled to equal credit, expressly says, he inquired into the statement, and found it was not true.[e]

Banners borne.

The banners borne in the English army were the usual ones of the Trinity,[f] of St.

[a] Cottonian MS. *Claudius*, A. viii. and *Lydgate*.

[b] *Chronicler* A. [c] *Elmham*, p. 60.

[d] *Monstrelet*, ed. 1595, p. 228-231. Monsr. Mazas says, on the authority of a MS. in the possession of the Marquis de Tramecourt, written thirty years after the battle, which he styles *The Chronicle of Tramecourt*, that Hector de Saveuse, who guarded the village, was killed by this detachment. *Vies des Grands Capitaines Français*, tome v. p. 616, and tome ii. p. 363.

[e] *St. Remy*, p. 91.

[f] "Gules an orle and pall argent, inscribed with the Trinity in Unity." The centre compartment bears the word *Deus;* the three branches of the

George,[a] of St. Edward,[b] and of the King's own arms,[c] together with those of the principal officers.[d] To an esquire named Thomas Strickland, was confided the distinguished honor of bearing the banner of St. George;[e] and some years afterwards he petitioned Henry the Sixth to be rewarded for his services upon that occasion.[f] No account occurs of the banners used by the French, exceping that the Oriflamme, which was borne by Guillaume Martel,[g] was then displayed for the last time,[h] but it is certain that they consisted of those of the several commanders, together with that of France. Banners borne.

Every thing being prepared for the contest, Henry rode along his lines, and addressed them with great spirit and effect.[i] He told them that he entered France to recover his lawful inhe- Henry's address to his troops.

pall, the word *Est;* on the upper angles of the orle, are the words *Pater* and *Filius;* on the bottom one are the words *Sanctus Spiritus*, and between each angle on the sides of the orle, the words *Non Est.*

[a] Argent, a Cross Gules.

[b] Azure, a Cross flory, between five martlets, Or.

[c] The arms of France and England quarterly. *St. Remy* speaks of five banners, though he only enumerates four. The fifth was probably the banner of St. Edmund, Azure, three Crowns, Or. See the Plate of these Banners.

[d] *St. Remy*, p. 89.

[e] List of the MEN-AT-ARMS. [f] *Fœdera*, vol. ix. p. 319.

[g] Martel was killed in the battle. His appointment to bear the Oriflamme was dated on the 28th of March, 1414.—*Academie des Inscriptions*, tome xiii. p. 640.

[h] Tillet, Sponde, Dom Felibien, and P. Simplicien. *Henault Nouvel abregé Chronologique de l'Historie de France.* The Oriflamme was of bright scarlet, with several swallow tails. See a drawing of it by Mons. Willemen, from a picture of Henry Seigneur de Mez, Marshal of France, in the church of Notre Dame de Chartres, and engraved for this work. A MS. Chronicle, but it is not said where it exists, states that it was again assumed by Louis XI. in 1465.

[i] *St. Remy*, pp. 89, 90.—*Livius*, p. 16.

Henry's address to his troops.

ritance, to which he had a fair and just claim; that in his quarrel they might safely fight; that they should remember they were born in England, where their parents, wives, and children then dwelt, to which therefore they should strive to return with fame and glory; that the Kings of England, his predecessors, had gained many noble victories over the French; that on that day every one should strive to preserve his own honor, and the honor of the English crown; and he reminded them that their enemies boasted they would cut off three fingers from the right hand of every archer they might take prisoner, so that they should never again kill man or horse.[a] His address was received with acclamations, and with cries of "Sir, we pray God give you a good life, and the victory over your enemies."[b] After the armies had remained in the same position for some hours, each waiting the advance of the other, a negociation was commenced, with the view of forming a truce, but from which side it proceeded does not appear.[c] Notwithstanding that this circumstance is unnoticed by all English writers, it is expressly recorded by St. Remy,[d] and there is no reason

A negociation, 25th October.

[a] *St. Remy*, p. 90. Another version of Henry's speech is given in the Cottonian MS. *Cleopatra*, C. iv. the most remarkable part of which is, that Henry is made to say that as he was a true King and Knight, England should never be charged with the payment of his ransom on that day, as he would rather be slain.

[b] *St. Remy*. p. 91. [c] *Ibid*, p. 92.

[d] *Pierre de Fenin* likewise says there was a negociation just before the battle, p. 460.

for disbelieving that it occurred. It was proposed to Henry, that if he would renounce the title which he pretended to the crown of France, and restore the town of Harfleur,[a] he should be allowed to retain what he held in Guienne, and that which he possessed by ancient conquest in Picardy. His reply, though dictated in the heart of the enemy's kingdom, and when menaced with destruction by an army at least ten times as great as his own, differed very little from the terms which he offered in his own capital. He told the messengers that if the King of France would yield to him the Duchy of Guienne, and the five towns which ought to form part of that province, together with the Comté of Ponthieu, and give him the Princess Katherine in marriage with eight hundred thousand crowns for her jewels and apparel, he would relinquish his title to the French crown, and give up Harfleur. These offers were however rejected; and the persons employed to treat returned to their respective camps, when, as all hopes of peace had vanished, the preparations for battle were renewed.[b] The only communication

A negociation, 25th October.

[a] It is necessary to observe, that according to *Laboureur*, p. 1008, Henry was so much impressed with the danger of his situation, that on the 24th of October, he offered to repair all the mischief which his invasion had produced, if the French would allow him and his army to pass unmolested to Calais. *Des Ursins*, p. 311, states the same thing, but considers the offer to have been made some time before. As these writers however are not so deserving of credit as either of the numerous others who have been cited, who are entirely silent on the subject, the assertion does not merit more attention than this allusion to it in a note.

[b] *St. Remy*, p. 92.

A negociation, 25th October.

between the armies on that morning, mentioned by Livius,[a] is, that whilst Henry was deliberating whether he should await an attack, a French nobleman, called the Lord of Hely, who had been a prisoner in England, but had escaped in a dishonorable manner, came to him, attended by two others of similar rank, and observed, that as he had heard it was said he quitted him in a way unbecoming a knight, if any person in the English camp dared to reproach him with it, he desired he would prepare for single combat, that he might prove the falsehood of the accusation. Henry replied, that no such combat should then take place, as another time would be more convenient; commanding him to return to his comrades, and desire them to approach before night, and added, that he trusted in God as he had disregarded the honor of knighthood by escaping, he would on that day either be retaken or slain.[b] Hely answered, that he would not deliver the message, for his companions were the subjects of the King of France and not his; and that they would begin the battle at their own plea-

[a] *Elmham*, p. 63, also notices that some French barons came to Henry, who instantly ordered them to return to their camp, but it is evident that *Elmham* considers they came as spies.

[b] *Livius* afterwards states, and apparently with much satisfaction, that this person was killed in the battle, p. 21. According to the copy of *Lydgate's* metrical account of the expedition, printed by Hearne, but which does not occur in the copy in the Harleian MS. Hely was sent to advise Henry to surrender:

"The lorde Haly untrewe knyght,
Untel oure kyng he come in hye
And sayd, 'Syre, yeld yow without fyght
And save yowre selfe and yowre meyn,
And oure kyng bade hym go hys way on hy
And byde no longer in my syght."

sure, not at his. "Depart then to your host," said Henry, "and whatever speed you may use, shall not be so great but that we will be there before you."[a] A negociation, 25th October.

The venerable Sir Thomas Erpingham, a Knight of the Garter, and a soldier of the highest reputation, was ordered to array the archers and place them in front,[b] and he exhorted all in Henry's name to fight vigorously. Then, riding before the archers, he drew them up, and when this was done, threw his baton into the air, exclaiming, "Now strike!"[c] and was answered by a loud cry,[d] after which he dismounted and placed himself in the King's battalion, who was also on foot opposite his men with his banner borne before him.[e] Archers drawn up.

It was now between ten and eleven in the forenoon,[f] and Henry finding that great part of the day had been wasted, and that the French would not approach, but were probably either waiting for reinforcements, or expecting to oblige him to surrender from the want of provisions, Commencement of the attack, 11 A. M. 25th October.

[a] *Titus Livius*, p. 17.

[b] *St. Remy*, p. 92, who adds, "in two wings," but the *Chronicler* A. says the archers were drawn up in the form of a wedge.

[c] *Monstrelet* says that the words were "Nestroque," which Dr. Meyrick considers to have been a corruption of "Now strike," an expression used by the marshal of an army after finishing his duty of arraying it for battle.

[d] *Monstrelet.* [e] *St. Remy*, p. 92.

[f] *Des Ursins*, p. 315, however states, in one account of the battle, that it began at 8 A.M. and which is partially corroborated by the anonymous chronicler in the Cottonian MS. *Claudius*, A. viii. speaking of the hour of "prime;" but independently of the remark of the *Chronicler* A. that "a great part of the day had been spent in delay," it is obvious from every other writer, that it was after that hour when Henry commenced the attack. *Monstrelet* expressly states that the French waited till between nine and ten;

Commencement of the attack, 11 A. M. 25th October.

resolved to commence the attack.[a] Having issued the command, "Banners advance,"[b] the soldiers immediately prostrated themselves to the ground, beseeching the protection of the Almighty, and each of them put a small piece of earth into his mouth,[c] in remembrance, as has been conjectured, that they were mortal, and formed of dust.[d] They then marched towards the enemy in three lines,[e] with great firmness and intrepidity, uttering repeated shouts, and with their trumpets sounding.[f]

The Constable on seeing them approach, after earnestly admonishing his men to confess their sins and to fight bravely,[g] ordered his advanced guard to march towards the English, which they did,[h] crying "Montjoye! Montjoye!"[i]

and some time evidently elapsed after that period before the English advanced. Moreover it is said that the battle lasted three hours, that Henry remained on the field for four hours afterwards, and that evening then began to close.

[a] *Chronicler* A. and *Elmham*, p. 64.

[b] *Titus Livius*, p. 19, Cottonian MS. *Claudius*, A. viii. and *Lydgate*.

[c] *Livius*, p. 17, and *Elmham*, p. 65. *Lydgate* says, they "thries there kyssyd the grounde."

[d] *Harleian* MS. p. 35. Dr. Lingard observes on this fact, which stands on the authority of *Elmham* and *Livius*, and which he has translated, "the men falling on their knees, bit the ground."—"This singular custom had been introduced by the peasants of Flanders, before the great victory which they had gained over the French cavalry at Coutray, in 1302. A priest stood in front of the army, holding the consecrated host in his hand, and each man kneeling down, took a particle of earth in his mouth as a sign of his desire, and an acknowledgment of his unworthiness, to receive the sacrament. Spondam II. 339." *History of England*, ed. 1823, vol. v. p. 27.

[e] *Titus Livius*, p. 19,

[f] *St. Remy*, p. 92, 93.—*Monstrelet*,—*Elmham*, p. 65.

[g] *St. Remy* and *Monstrelet*.

[h] *Chronicler* A.—Cottonian MS. *Claudius*, A. viii.—*Elmham*, p. 64,—*Laboureur*, p. 1000,—Note to *Hardyng's Chronicle*.

[i] *Laboureur*, p. 1009.

The battle commenced by the English archers shooting their arrows as soon as they were within reach of the enemy, and much execution was done among them before the combatants closed.[a] The French cavalry, posted along the flanks, attacked the archers on each side;[b] but the division commanded by Clignet de Brabant, Admiral of France, which consisted of eight hundred horse, and was intended to break through them, was reduced to about one hundred and fifty, who attempted it in vain, being compelled to retreat from the heavy vollies of arrows.[c] Sir William de Saveuse, with three hundred men-at-arms, likewise gallantly endeavoured to accomplish this object, but he was immediately killed: his followers were repulsed by the archers placing their pointed stakes before them;[d] and the horses being infuriated by wounds from the arrows, became unmanageable, great part of them, with their riders, rolling on the earth from pain, whilst the others fled at the utmost speed upon the van, threw it into confusion, and forced it back on some newly sown ground.[e] Of this fortunate circumstance Henry took instant advantage, by causing his men to advance upon them with the greatest celerity, at which moment the flanks of both armies immerged into the woods on each side. The Battle

[a] *Monstrelet*, and *St. Remy*, p. 93. [b] *Chronicler* A.

[c] *Monstrelet*, *St. Remy*, p. 93, and *Chronicler* A.

[d] *Ibid.*, *Livius*, p. 19, and *St. Remy*.

[e] *Monstrelet*, *Elmham*, p. 66, *St. Remy*, p. 93, and the Arundel MS. in the College of Arms, No. xlvii. f. 283.[b] *Laboureur*, p. 1009, says, they fled as if pursued by a tempest, carrying dismay to the main body.

The Battle

When the French advanced guard, who had boldly marched towards them under the great disadvantage of having the sun in their eyes, came near,[a] whether from the effect of the heavy discharges of arrows, which pierced through the sides and beavers of their basinets, or with the view of sooner penetrating the English lines, they suddenly formed themselves into three divisions, and charged with so much impetuosity in the three places where the banners stood, that for a short period the English gave way; but, quickly rallying, they recovered their ground and repulsed their assailants with tremendous loss.[b] The conflict was then very severe, and as soon as the English archers had exhausted their arrows, they threw aside their bows, and fought with overwhelming impetuosity with the swords, bills, lances, and hatchets, with which the field was covered, slaying all before them.[c] A dreadful slaughter consequently took place in the van of the French army, and the assailants speedily reached the second line, which was posted in the rear of the first. For a time the English met with a spirited opposition, but the confusion which produced the defeat of the van now extended to this division, and those immense numbers upon which they placed such reliance became the chief cause of their destruction. Standing upon soft ground and heavily armed, without sufficient room to move, they necessarily impeded each other; and being thus unable to

The French defeated.

[a] *Des Ursins*, p. 310. [b] *Chronicler* A.

[c] *Chronicler* A., *St. Remy*, p. 93, and *Monstrelet*.

offer any material resistance,[a] they fell victims, as much to the unfortunate situation and circumstances in which they were placed, as to the valour of their enemies. When the French lines gave way, the Duke of Alençon mounted his horse with the hope of rallying the fugitives; but finding it impossible, he returned to the scene of danger; and after performing prodigies of valour,[b] was slain whilst in personal combat with the King of England. Duke Anthony of Brabant, whose anxiety to be present made him push forward with such rapidity that the greater part of his soldiers could not keep up with him, now joined the French. Finding that the battle had commenced he would not wait to equip himself, but seizing a banner which was attached to a trumpet, converted it into a surcoat of arms,[c] threw himself with a small body of followers into the thickest of the fight, and nobly endeavoured to resist the torrent; but he was speedily slain, and the fate of the second division was no longer doubtful.[c]

The French defeated.

The rear, seeing what had befallen their companions, took to flight, leaving only the chief leaders on the field;[d] and such of them as survived were made prisoners. As a last effort, a gallant charge was made by the Counts of Marle and Fauquembergh at the head of about six hundred men-at-arms, whom with great difficulty they

[a] *St. Remy*, p. 93.

[b] *Arundel* MS. No. xlvii. f. 239, "il fist tant d'armes et sy vaillaument que cestoit marveille de regarder."

[c] *Monstrelet*, *Elmham*, p. 63, and *St. Remy*, p. 93.

[d] *Ibid.*

The French defeated.

had kept firm, but without success, and they shared the fate of the bravest of their comrades.[a]

An eye-witness[b] says, though he is not candid enough to explain the reason, that there was no example in history of so fine a body of men having made so disorderly, so cowardly, or so unmanly a resistance; that they seemed seized with a panic; that many noblemen surrendered themselves more than ten times during the day, but as no one had leisure to make prisoners of them, they were all pressed to the ground and put to death without exception, either by those who had overcome, or by those who followed, them.[c]

At that moment great numbers of the French[d] who had been routed, including part of the rear guard, collected as if they intended to renew the conflict, and Henry being informed that they had actually attacked his rear and plundered his baggage,[e] expected that he was to be again engaged, an event which from the amount of his prisoners, who would of course join their countrymen, he had every cause to fear might prove fatal. Imperative necessity consequently dictated what no other circumstances could possibly palliate; and every man was ordered to put his prisoner to death. They refused, however, to obey; and it would be an honorable trait in the character of the conquerors if the refusal

Prisoners put to death.

[a] *Monstrelet.* [b] *Chronicler* A. [c] *Ibid.*

[d] The *Harleian* MS. 782, says that twenty thousand were thus assembled, by Sir William Tyboville, Lord de Riviere, under the white pennon.

[e] *Chronicler* A., *St. Remy*, p. 94, and *Monstrelet.*

sprung from feelings of honor and humanity; but unfortunately this reluctance is attributed to an unwillingness to lose the benefit of their ransoms, as the greater part were persons of distinction.[a] An Esquire and two hundred archers were therefore ordered to perform the horrible office, who obeyed the command in a manner which is described as having been "a fearful sight to see."[b] In this shocking massacre few were spared, excepting the Dukes of Orleans and Bourbon, and some other illustrious individuals.[c] This measure has scarcely a parallel in modern warfare, and nothing but the most urgent motives of self-preservation can prevent its being deemed an act of barbarous atrocity, but that the cause here assigned alone produced it is not questioned even by the French writers; nor is it too much to consider that Henry had recourse to it with repugnance.[d] As soon as those parties of the French army to whom, for having been the cause of this carnage, the most opprobious epithets are applied, discovered that the English were ready to receive them, they

Prisoners put to death.

[a] *St. Remy*, p. 94. [b] *Ibid.* [c] *Chronicler* A.

[d] Mons. Petitot, the learned editor of the "*Collection des Mémoires relatifs a la Histoire de France*," a work which reflects almost as much credit on his country, as on the individual by whose exertions it has been produced, observes on this affair, "Cet ordre barbare fut éxécuté, et souilla sa victoire," tome vi. p. 322. It is submitted, that if any measure, no matter how barbarous, was so imperative as to render it a question of life and death to the party who caused it to be performed, and that the fact is admitted without a single exception by contemporary writers, many of whom were Frenchmen, and must have been influenced by every feeling which could induce men to censure and even vituperate Henry,—national prejudice—wounded pride—and possibly in some, the loss of relatives or friends—we are not justified, at the distance of three centuries, in viewing the subject in a different light.

fled; and such among them as were not mounted, were speedily put to death.[a]

Heroic conduct of the King.

Among the many instances of heroism which occurred during the battle, Henry's conduct was particularly distinguished; and it is said that, even if he had been of the most inferior rank, the extraordinary valour which he displayed would have ensured to him greater renown than that of any other person.[b] He fought on foot, and shared the dangers of the day in common with the humblest of his soldiers; but he more particularly signalized himself in preserving the life of his brother, the Duke of Gloucester.[c] That Prince having been wounded in the bowels[d] with a dagger, and thrown senseless to the ground, by the Duke of Alençon and his followers, with his feet towards his enemies, the King rushed between his legs, and defended him until he was removed from the field.[e] This generous act nearly cost him his life, for whilst he was stooping to raise his brother, Alençon gave him a blow on his bacinet which struck off a part of his crown. Being, however, soon surrounded by Henry's guards, Alençon

[a] *St. Remy*, p. 94.

[b] *Elmham*, p. 67. See also the encomium of *Lydgate*.

[c] *Livius*, p. 20, and *Elmham*, p. 67. *Monstrelet* however says that it was the Duke of *York*, and the Biographer of the Duke of Richmond, that it was the Duke of *Clarence*, whose life Henry thus preserved. The reasons for preferring the authority of *Livius* on this occasion are, first, that as he was specially patronized by the Duke of Gloucester, he is not likely to have been mistaken; and secondly, that the Duke of York was most probably slain in another part of the field, as he commanded the van-guard, which was placed as a wing to the right of the main body. The Duke of *Clarence* was not present at the battle.

[d] "In iliis," *Livius*,—*Elmham* does not say in what part of the body.

[e] *Livius*, p. 20.

found himself in the utmost peril, and lifting up his arm, exclaimed, "I am the Duke of Alençon, and I yield myself to you," but whilst the King was extending his hand to receive his pledge, the Prince was slain.[a] St. Remy relates, that the blow which struck off part of Henry's crown was given by one of a body of eighteen knights, belonging to the retinue of the Lord of Croy, led by Brunelet de Masinguehen and Ganiot de Bournonville, who had sworn that they would force themselves sufficiently near to where the King of England fought to strike the royal diadem from his head, or that they would die in the attempt; a vow which was literally fulfilled, for though one of them with his axe struck a point from his crown, they were all cut to pieces.[b]

Death of the Duke of Alençon.

The chief persons in the English army, whose names have been discovered, were the Duke of York who led the van, and the Duke of Gloucester; the Earl Marshal, the Earls of Oxford, March, Salisbury, Huntingdon, and Suffolk; the Lords Camoys the commander of the rear guard, Fitz-Hugh, Talbot,[c] Roos, Clifford, Bourchier, Scrope of Bolton, Maltravers, Harington, and Ferrers of Chartley; Sir Gilbert Umfreville, Sir Thomas Erpingham, Sir

Chief persons in the English army.

[a] *Monstrelet*, ed. 1595, p. 231.

[b] *St. Remy*, p. 89. The statement of the Biographer of the Count of Richmond, p. 239, that two individuals were dressed to personate the King, both of whom were killed, is not supported by any other Chronicler, and is extremely improbable. If such a thing was done, it must have been with the view of diverting attacks from the royal person.

[c] Probably John Talbot, Baron Furnival in right of his wife, but who was summoned to parliament as "John Talbot of Halamshire."

Chief persons in the English army.

John Cornwall, Sir Gerard Ufflete, Sir William Bourchier, Sir Edward Courtenay son and heir of the Earl of Devon, Sir Walter Hungerford, Sir Thomas West, Sir Ralph Shirley, Sir William Talbot, Sir William Phelip, Sir John Pilkington, Sir Rowland Lenthall, Sir Henry Hussey, Sir William Harington, Sir Richard Hastings, Sir John Grey, Sir John Ashton, Sir Robert Bapthorpe the Comptroller of the King's Household, Sir Robert Roos, Sir William Trussell, Sir Thomas Fitz-Payne, Sir Walter Berkeley, Sir William and Sir Geoffrey Fitz-Hugh, Sir Thomas Rampston, Sir William Evers, Sir Richard Kighley who was killed, Sir Thomas Percy, Sir John Osbaldeston, Sir Edmund de la Pole, Sir William Stanley, Sir John Everingham, Sir Ralph Bostock, and Sir Peter de Legh.[a]

The English archers.

The English archers, to whose gallantry and steadiness the victory may be chiefly attributed, wore little armour, but were habited in jackets, and had their hosen loose, with hatchets or swords hanging from their girdles, and many were barefooted and without hats,[b] whilst others had caps of thick leather crossed with iron.[c]

Soon after the action began[d] an attack was made on the baggage of the English by a few men-at-arms and six hundred peasants, led by Robert de Bournonville, Rifflart de Clamasse, and

[a] There were probably also in the battle, the Lords Willoughby of Eresby, Botreaux, and Clinton.

[b] *Monstrelet* and *St. Remy*, p. 93. [c] *St. Remy*, p. 93.

[d] *Chronicler* A.

Ysambart d'Azincourt, who carried off several horses, and some of Henry's jewels, together with a sword and a crown,[a] those who were appointed to protect them having left their post, and joined in the general fray.[b] The leaders of this affair, which was one cause of the slaughter of the prisoners, were severely punished and imprisoned a long time by the Duke of Burgundy, notwithstanding that they presented the sword, which was richly adorned with precious stones, to his son the Count de Charolois, to secure his protection.[c]

Attack on the baggage.

The battle lasted about three hours:[d] the slaughter on the part of the French was appalling, and cannot be more forcibly described than in the words of one of the chroniclers who witnessed it.[e] When some of the enemy's van were slain, those behind pressed over their bodies, so that the living fell over the dead, and others again falling on them, they were immediately put to death; and in three places near Henry's banners, so large was the pile of corpses, and of those who were thrown upon them, that the English stood on the heaps, which exceeded a man's height, and butchered their adversaries below with their swords and axes. This horrible ac-

Immense slaughter of the French.

[a] *Chronicler* A. [b] *St. Remy.*

[c] *Monstrelet.* A list of part of the articles stolen on this occasion occurs in the *Fœdera*, vol. ix. p. 356, and is printed in another part of this volume. They are also particularly alluded to in De Gaucort's narrative, in the APPENDIX, whence it appears that the Seals of the King's Chancery were amongst them.

[d] *Livius*, p. 20. [e] *Chronicler* A.

Immense slaughter of the French.

count needs no comment to convey to the imagination the impetuosity with which they fought, or the manner in which the immense body of the French fell, almost passive victims, to their fury.

Comments on the battle.

Little resistance could be offered to the attack of even a small body of men whose natural bravery was increased to desperation, by an army whose powers of action were almost paralized. When such a dense mass is thrown into confusion, and before it has time to rally, it is attacked in a manner similar to that by the English army at Agincourt, no other result can be expected, than that the assailants will gain a speedy and complete victory, whilst the objects of their vengeance, crowded together in a small plain, and powerless from their numbers and the weight of their armour, are sacrificed like so many sheep.

A French writer has observed, with great truth, that this day proved, that occasions may occur on which an immense force tends to injure its possessor, rather than those against whom it is assembled;[a] and doubtless it is to the fact that the French had not sufficient space in which to act, that their defeat is to be mainly attributed, for overwhelming as was their superiority, they were unable at any time during the conflict to bring a larger body simultaneously into action than that which was opposed to them. As the English flanks were protected by coppices and

[a] *Laboureur*, p. 1009.

hedges, and as no attack could be made on their rear, the efforts of the enemy were confined to one point, against which they were prevented from bringing a very large force. When the attempt of the cavalry to break the English line failed, and the flight of the infuriated horses on the van threw it into disorder, that body met their enemies under disadvantages, for which the bravery they displayed could not compensate; and they were beaten with great loss. In the mean time, the soldiers in the second line were little more than spectators of the event, it being impossible for them to assist; and when at length the opportunity did occur, they had to engage an enemy flushed with the conquest of the flower of their countrymen, the defeat and consequent disorder of whom, at once dispirited and put them into confusion. Their efforts consequently proved fruitless; and the rear, terrified at the fate of the other divisions, did not even try to retrieve the fortune of the day. Comments on the battle.

To the valour, discipline, and conduct of the English no words can do justice, but fortunately no powers of language are required. The event itself is their best eulogy; and when viewed without reference to the situation of their adversaries, and when the comparative numbers alone are considered, their success was scarcely less than miraculous. Without attempting to take one laurel from the brows of the victors, or wishing, even in the slightest degree, to lessen the glory

Comments on the battle.

of a triumph which has never been surpassed, it may be said, that any army, no matter of what extent, would under precisely similar circumstances be annihilated; that the leaders of the French were alone to blame for the defeat which they sustained at Agincourt, not from any want of bravery after it commenced, but for suffering themselves to be attacked in such a position; and that brilliant as is the event in the English annals, it is no otherwise humiliating to the French, than from the consideration that it arose from the want of military skill in their commanders. He, therefore, who attempts to deduce from that battle proof of superior prowess on the part of the conquerors, or founds on it a reflection on the courage of the vanquished, betrays consummate ignorance of the real merits of the case.

Loss of the French.

The loss of the French was excessively heavy, and the following are the accounts of contemporary writers on the subject:

FRENCH WRITERS.

Monstrelet ..... 10,000 of all ranks.

Pierre de Fenin[a] ..... 3 or 4000.

Berry, First Herald to Charles VI.[b] ..... 4500 or 4600 slain.

[a] p. 460.

[b] p. 430. The *Journal de Paris* says full 3000 Knights, "esperons d'orez," were killed—p. 27.

ENGLISH WRITERS.

Chronicler A.	3 Dukes, 5 Earls, 90 Barons and standard bearers, above 1500 Knights, and 4 or 5000 other nobles. Loss of the French.
Note to Hardyng's Chronicle, "according to the computation of the Heralds."	3 Dukes, 5 Counts, 90 Barons, 1050 Knights, and 100,000 other persons.
Titus Livius[a]	10,000
Elmham[b]	between 9 and 10,000
Anonymous Chronicler in Claudius, A. viii.	above 11,000
Chronicle of London, Harleian MS. 565.	Slain and taken, 12,000 Dukes, Counts, Barons, and other persons of consequence, and above 3000 common people. More than 5000 "worthy men slain."
Ibid. in the Cottonian MS. Julius B. i.	5,000 slain.
Records of Salisbury[c]	4000 Knights and Esquires, besides common men.
Walsyngham[d]	Dukes, Earls, Knights, and Esquires, 4169; but the common people were not counted.
Otterbourne[e].	3 Dukes, 6 Counts, 92 Barons, and 1500 Knights killed. 2 Dukes, 3 Counts, and 7000 persons of rank taken.
Chronicle in Peter's College, Cambridge.	11,000 and upwards.[f]
Harleian MS. 782.	2400 Knights slain, according to the declaration of the herald Montjoye.
Cottonian MS. Cleopatra, C. iv.	3 Dukes, 5 Earls, 100 Barons, 2000 coat armours, and 10,000 altogether.

Contradictory as many of these statements may appear, there is not much difficulty in

[a] p. 21. [b] p. 69. [c] *Lansdowne* MS. 1054, f. 55.
[d] p. 461. [e] pp. 276-7.

[f] Leland's *Collectanea*, vol. i. p. 487. Among them "were three Dukes, nine Counts, the Constable, an Archbishop, more than 100 Barons and 1500 Knights and men of good alliance."

Loss of the French.

forming a correct estimate of the numbers of the French slain at Agincourt; for if those writers who say that only from three to five thousand were killed, merely meant men-at-arms and persons of superior rank, which is exceedingly probable, the calculation of Monstrelet, Elmham, Livius, and the other English authorities, may be adopted, in which case the whole loss on the field, was between ten and eleven thousand men. If this conclusion be correct, the different accounts approach very nearly to each other, and this can only be explained by supposing that the dead were carefully numbered.

Among the most illustrious persons slain, were the Dukes of Brabant, Bar, and Alençon, several Counts, and numerous distinguished Knights; and the Duke of Orleans, Louis de Bourbon Count of Vendôsme, who was taken by Sir John Cornwall,[a] the Marshal Boucicault, and many other eminent individuals, whose names are mentioned by Monstrelet and St. Remy, were made prisoners.

Loss of the English.

The loss of the English army as appears from the following statement, has been variously estimated:

	FRENCH WRITERS.
Monstrelet and St. Remy.[b]	1600 men of all ranks.
Pierre de Fenin[c]	4 or 500
Berry, First Herald to Charles VI.[d]	300 or 400

[a] *Fœdera*, vol. ix. p. 319.

[b] p. 94. [c] p 460. [d] p. 430.

ENGLISH WRITERS.

Elmham [a]	the Duke of York, the Earl of Suffolk, and of others, about 100.	Loss of the English.
Note to Hardyng's Chronicle.	Duke of York, Earl of Suffolk, two Knights, and ten others.	
Chronicler A.	the Duke of York, the Earl of Suffolk, two Knights, and not more than nine or ten other persons.	
Titus Livius.[b]	100	
Chronicle of London, Harleian MS. 565	22	
Anonymous Chronicler in Claudius, A. viii.	28	
Ibid. in Julius, B. i.	28, five of whom were persons of 'estate.'	
Records of Salisbury [c]	the Duke of York, the Earl of Suffolk, and fifteen valets.	
Harleian MS. 782.	the Duke of York, the Earl of Suffolk, Sir Richard Kyghley, David Gam, Esq. and ten archers.	

The discrepancies respecting the number slain on the part of the English, form a striking contrast to the accuracy of the account of the loss of their enemies. The English writers vary in their statements from seventeen to one hundred, whilst the French assert that from three, to sixteen, hundred individuals fell on that occasion. It is probable that the smallest numbers mentioned by the chroniclers of both nations referred only to the men-at-arms, but the gross amount of the slain, one hundred, as asserted by Elmham and Livius, appears to be an ample proportion of inferior persons. St. Remy, to whose

[a] p. 69. [b] p. 21. [c] *Lansdowne* MS. 1054, f. 55.

Loss of the English.

narrative the greatest respect has been shown throughout this work, from his having been present in the English army, says, in which he is supported by Monstrelet, that sixteen hundred were killed, so that if Fenin and Berry only alluded to the men-at-arms, the accounts of the French writers may be reconciled with each other. To make them agree with the English chroniclers, or to reconcile those writers with each other, is however impossible; but the manner in which the slain are noticed in the Chancellor's speech to Parliament, in November, 1416,[a] as well as in the proceedings relative to the wages of those who served in the expedition,[b] admit of the inference that many more persons fell than are mentioned by them.[c]

The names of the English who were killed at Agincourt which are recorded, are the Duke of York, the Earl of Suffolk,[d] Sir Richard Kighley,[e] David Gamme, Esq.[f] Thomas Fitz-Henry,[g] and John de Peniton;[h] John Garrew was taken pri-

[a] See a subsequent page. [b] See the APPENDIX.

[c] The remark of the Chronicler *Hall*, who lived within a century of the event, is so very sensible that it is deserving of attention, "of Englishmen at this battle, were slain Edward Duke of York, the Earl of Suffolk, Sir Richard Kighley, David Gam, Esquire, and of all other not above twenty-five, if you will give credit to such as write miracles; but other writers, whom I sooner believe, affirm that there was slain above five or six hundred persons, which is not unlike, considering that the battle was earnestly and furiously fought by the space of three long hours; wherefore it is not incredible nor yet unpossible, but more Englishmen than five-and-twenty were slain and destroyed." Ed. 1809. p. 72. [d] Nearly every authority.

[e] Harleian MSS. 565 and 782, and Cottonian MS. *Cleopatra*, C. iv.

[f] *Ibid.* and the Cottonian MS. *Julius*, B. i.

[g] List of the MEN-AT-ARMS. [h] *Ibid.*

soner[a] in the battle, and Lewis Cadowen was slain before it commenced.[b] It is not certain in what manner the gallant Duke of York lost his life. Leland[c] states that being a very stout man he was thrown down and suffocated, but a rhyming chronicler says his basinet was beaten into his brain.[d] The Duke of Gloucester who was severely wounded did not recover until after his arrival at Calais.[e]

Loss of the English.

Henry being left master of the field, which was covered with waggons laden with provisions, bows, arrows, lances,[f] and other military stores, walked over the plain, attended by several noblemen, and returned solemn thanks to God for his success.[g] Whilst the soldiers were employed in stripping the dead, he called to him Montjoye, the principal Herald of France, and some English Heralds, and said to them, that this slaughter was not made by him, but by the Almighty, as a punishment, in his opinion, for the sins of the French. He demanded whether the victory belonged to him, or the King of France? to which Montjoye replied, to him.[h] The King then asked the name of a castle

Henry left master of the field.

[a] List of the MEN-AT-ARMS.

[b] *Ibid.*

[c] *Itinerary*, vol. i. p. 5.

[d] Cottonian MS. *Cleopatra*, C. iv.

[e] *Chronicler* A.

[f] *Ibid.*

[g] *St. Remy*, p. 94. *Laboureur*, p. 1012, says, that Henry withdrew his army a few paces, and having there assembled them, motioned with his hand for them to be silent, addressed them in a speech, in which, after thanking them for their services, he bid them consider their success as an undoubted proof of the justice of his cause, and directed them not to pride themselves on the event, but to attribute it to Providence.

[h] *Monstrelet*.

Names his victory.

which he saw near him, and being told that it was called Agincourt. "Then," said he, "as all battles should bear the name of the nearest fortress to where they occur, this shall for ever be called, THE BATTLE OF AGINCOURT."[a] Henry remained on the ground for four hours after the battle, by which time it was nearly dusk, and finding that it began to rain, and that the enemy did not attempt to molest him, he retired to his quarters at Maisoncelle,[b] whither they removed some of the wounded.[c] Under the dead they found many prisoners still alive, and among them the Duke of Orleans[d] and Arthur Count of Richmond, afterwards Duke of Brittany, who was slightly wounded. The latter was lying beneath two or three of the slain, and was recognized by his coat d'armes, which was covered with blood.[e] In the evening they brought several horse loads of armour to Maisoncelle, together with the bodies of the Duke of York, the Earl of Suffolk, and of their other countrymen who fell in the conflict; but when Henry was informed that so much armour had been brought to his quarters, he ordered it to be proclaimed that no one should take more than he wanted for his own person, for that they were not yet beyond the power of the King of France.[f] The corpses of the Duke of York

Retires to Maisoncelle: evening of the 25th.

[a] *St. Remy*, p. 95, and *Monstrelet*. [b] *Ibid.*

[c] *Monstrelet*. [d] *St. Remy*, p. 95.

[e] *Histoire d'Artus III. Duke de Bretaigne*, p. 11, Edited by Godefroy, 4to. 1622.

[f] *St. Remy*, p. 95. The armour was thus carefully preserved on account of its great value.

and the Earl of Suffolk were boiled, to enable them to carry their bones to England; and the armour which had been taken from the field, together with all the English who were killed, excepting those two eminent persons, were put into a house or barn, and there burnt.[a] At supper the King was attended by the most distinguished of his prisoners,[b] and during the night many of the wounded Frenchmen crawled from the field into the adjoining wood, where some of them expired, and others contrived to reach the villages.[c]

Night of the 25th.

Early on the next day, Saturday, October the 26th, the English, with their prisoners, quitted Maisoncelle on their route to Calais, and passed over the field of battle, where they found some of their enemies still living, whom, it is said, they either killed or made prisoners.[d] Henry halted on the ground to view the dead, and found the slain, consisting of the chief nobility of France, already stripped as naked as they were born.[e] Monstrelet[f] states that their bodies were plundered by the English of their jewels and gold, but that they were despoiled of their clothes by the peasantry in the neighbourhood. On the five succeeding days the bodies of the most important persons, among whom were the Dukes of Brabant, Bar, and Alençon, the Counts of Nevers, Baumont, and Fauquembergh, were

Henry leaves Maisoncelle for Calais; 26th October.

Halts on the field of battle.

[a] *St. Remy*, p. 95. [b] *Livius*, p. 21. [c] *Monstrelet*.
[d] *Chronicler A.*, *Monstrelet*, *St. Remy*, p. 95.
[e] *Ibid.* [f] Ed. 1595, p. 231-32.

The French buried.

raised from the heaps, and having been washed, many were interred in the church of the Friars Minors, at Hesdin. Others were conveyed by their servants to their own estates, and there buried; but it was not until Philip Count of Charolois commanded it that the remaining corpses were interred. That prince ordered the Abbot of Roussainville, and the Bailiff of Aire, to see it performed, who caused a square of twenty-five yards to be measured, in which three trenches were dug, each of the width of twelve feet, and five thousand eight hundred men were there buried. The ground was afterwards consecrated by the Bishop of Guisnes, and was surrounded by a strong hedge of thorns, to prevent wolves and dogs from devouring its contents.[a]

Conversation between the King and the Duke of Orleans.

At a place where they rested, during the march to Calais, Henry caused bread and wine to be brought, which he sent to the Duke of Orleans; but the prince would neither eat nor drink. This being reported to the King, he imagined that it arose from dissatisfaction, and therefore went to the Duke. "Noble Cousin,"

[a] *Monstrelet*, p. 231-2. Mons. Mazas, in a note to his "*Vies des grand Capitaines Français du Moyen Age*," tome vi. p. 372 says, that the ground which formed the sepulture continued in the state described in the text, until the year 1734. At that period the plain of Gacogne was in the possession of the house of Tramecourt, which shared a part of the property of the family of Agincourt in the sixteenth century. The Marchioness of Tramecourt made a vow to build a chapel on the spot in case her son Eugène François returned safe from Italy, where he was then serving under the Marquise de Coigny: her prayers were granted, and a small church remarkable for its architectural decorations, was erected. This chapel, the record of a mother's piety, was totally destroyed in 1793, and the materials employed to construct pigs'-styes.

said Henry, "how are you?"—"Well, my Lord," he answered. "Why then is it, that you will neither eat nor drink?" To which Orleans replied, "that truly he had no inclination for food."—"Noble Cousin," rejoined Henry, "be of good heart. I know that God gave me the victory over the French, not that I deserved it, but I fully believe that he wished to punish them; and if what I have heard be true, it is not to be wondered at, for never were there greater disorder, sensuality, and vices seen than now prevail in France, which it is horrible to hear described, and if God is provoked, no one can be astonished at it."[a] Many other conversations are said to have passed between the King and the Duke of Orleans, and the commiseration and courtesy of the former to his prisoners is mentioned by every writer in terms of merited praise. The army proceeded towards Calais in fine order, having the prisoners placed between the advanced guard and the main body; and the only difference in its appearance since the battle was that "cotes d'armes" were no longer worn.[b] At Guisnes they were received by the captain of the garrison with great

Conversation between the King and the Duke of Orleans.

[a] *St. Remy*, p. 95. *Des Ursins* gives rather a different version of this speech, and the time when it was uttered, for he says, "The king proceeded with his prisoners to Calais, entertained them all at dinner on the following Sunday, and gave each of them a damask robe, and addressed them in a speech, stating that they ought not to be astonished that they had lost the battle, for which he did not take to himself any glory, but that it was the work of God, in punishment of their sins." p. 315.

[b] *St. Remy*, p. 95.

The Army arrives at Calais.

honor, and Henry took up his quarters in the castle of that town. The soldiers however continued their march to Calais, much fatigued, and heavily burthened with the prisoners and booty, but the King kept the French Dukes, Counts, and great Barons with him at Guisnes.

When the army reached Calais, where they expected to obtain the repose and refreshment of which they stood so much in need, for the greater part of them had not tasted bread for eight or ten days though they had plenty of all other provisions, the town's people refused to receive any person, but some English Lords. It is therefore, St. Remy observes, not difficult to imagine that the poor prisoners, many of whom were maimed and wounded, were in great distress. Such was the want of bread, that the soldiers and archers cared not what they gave for it, and they consequently sold their baggage and prisoners to the inhabitants, to obtain money to purchase it; whilst on the other hand, there were many who set their prisoners at an easy ransom, and permitted them to depart on their parole. Articles worth ten nobles were frequently sold for four, and all seemed wholly indifferent to every thing excepting the desire to procure bread, and to be in England. The moment the King, who was at Guisnes, heard of their situation, he commanded vessels to be procured for their conveyance, in which the army and prisoners embarked: part landed at Dover, and the others at Sandwich, and

the soldiers were delighted to find themselves again in their own country, and proud of their glorious victory. After Henry had passed a few days at Guisnes, he proceeded to Calais, and upon the road used every means to solace and cheer his illustrious captives who rode with him.[a] This statement is not, however, supported in some points by that of the other writers, neither of whom state that the King remained at, though some of them[b] notice that he passed through, Guisnes; that the army preceded him on its march to Calais; that any were refused admittance into the town; that they were in want of bread; or that they were sent to England before Henry quitted France.

The Army arrives in England.

At Calais, which the King appears to have entered on Tuesday, the 29th of October,[c] he was received with every demonstration of respect.[d] The captain and inhabitants of the town, came nearly as far as Guisnes to meet him, accompanied by the priests and clerks dressed in their canonicals, bearing the cross and the banners of all the churches, and singing "Te Deum Laudamus," the women and children crying as he approached, "Welcome the King, our Sovereign Lord." He remained there several days, celebrated the feast of

Henry arrives at Calais. 29th October.

[a] *St. Remy*, pp. 95-96. [b] *Livius*, p. 21, and *Elmham*, p. 70.

[c] "Tuesday, the morrow of the feast of St. Simon and St. Jude," *Chronicler* A., and the Note to *Hardyng's Chronicle*. The Harleian MS., 565, says he arrived there on the 28th of October.

[d] *Elmham*, p. 70,—*Pierre de Fenin*, p. 461. The latter says that the English were impeded in their march to Calais, by having a number of horses wounded in the battle, for the loss of which they grieved extremely.

At Calais. All Saints,[a] and on the Sunday following, the 3rd of November, caused praises and thanksgiving to be solemnly offered for his triumph.[b] Soon afterwards he desired ships to be prepared for his return to England, which were ready to sail on the 2nd of November,[c] and ordered a list of his prisoners to be made. The King then consulted with his principal officers whether he should return or attack a French town in the neighbourhood, and upon their representations he abandoned the intention, and embarked for England.[d] Before his departure, the Lords De Gau-

[a] The following extraordinary statement stands on the authority of *Des Ursins* alone, and the absurdity of Henry's denying that the Duke of Brabant and the Count of Nevers were slain by the English is in itself sufficient to deprive it of any claim to belief. "At Calais a herald arrived from the Duke of Burgundy, who was as much grieved as enraged at the death of his brothers, the Duke of Brabant and the Count of Nevers, and brought Burgundy's gauntlet to Henry with the following message: "that as he had killed the Duke of Brabant, the noblest esquire of the realm of France, but who held nothing therein excepting a small house at Paris, to which he attached no importance, he defied him with fire and blood, and sent him his gauntlet, promising him he would seek him, with the aid of his Flemings, Brabans, and Lieges; that as for the Count of Nevers, he was armed for, and a subject of, the King, and being bound to fight he entertained no ill will on account of his death. Henry replied, "he would not accept the gauntlet of so noble and powerful a prince as the Duke of Burgundy, compared with whom he was of slight importance, that though he had gained a victory over the nobles of France, it was not to be attributed to his prowess, his strength, or his wisdom, but to the will of God; that he regretted the death of the Duke of Brabant, but that neither he nor his people had killed either him or the Count of Nevers. He therefore begged the herald to take back the gauntlet, and assure his Lord that if he would be at Boulogne on the fifteenth of January, he would convince him by the confessions of the prisoners and of his friends, that it was the French who had killed and murdered them.—p. 230.

[b] Note to *Hardyng's Chronicle*. [c] *St. Remy*. p. 96.

[d] *Elmham*, p. 70, his words are, "at Calais the king commanded the names of all the prisoners to be presented to him that he might have at least a knowledge of them; and whilst there he consulted his nobles, whether in the territories near Calais, he should endeavour to take by storm the town

court and D'Estouteville, and the other prisoners who were taken at Harfleur came to surrender themselves to him, according to their engagement. Prisoners taken at Harfleur.

A dispute arose between these two noblemen and the King, about the fulfilment of the conditions on which they had yielded; and if De Gaucourt's account of the affair can be relied on, Henry's conduct was far from creditable. He is said to have replied to their demand, that whatever the parties who negociated the treaty of Harfleur might have promised them, they should remain prisoners; that about one hundred and fifty of his subjects were prisoners in France and were very harshly treated, and if they wished their liberty they must exert themselves to procure the release of those persons; but as they were not of equal rank, he would be guided by the judgment of two English and two French gentlemen, as to the sum they ought to pay for their liberation. They spoke to the Dukes of Orleans and Bourbon, the Counts d'Eu, Richmond, and Vendôsme, and Marshal Boucicault, then prisoners at Calais, who advised them to agree to Henry's proposal, as they would otherwise risk a long imprisonment in England. De Estouteville and Gaucourt accordingly agreed to Dispute with Estouteville and Gaucourt.

of Arde or other castles, before the dispersion of his army. It was replied, and finally concluded that such a miraculous victory, without harassing himself or army any farther, sufficed for his honor at present. To this opinion the King assented, and crossed over into his kingdom of England with a prosperous gale. See also *Livius*, p. 21.

Dispute with Estouteville and Gaucourt.

do all in their power to obtain the release of the Englishmen; and the latter nobleman being still ill with the disorder he caught at Harfleur, was permitted to return to France to effect it, and to recover the jewels lost at Agincourt: another request was, that he should procure for Henry two hundred casks of Beaune wine, the cost of which should be allowed them. After great trouble and expence, he says, he effected all these objects and went to England, that the King seemed satisfied, and desired him to convey the wine and articles to London, when he would order De Estouteville and himself to be released, agreeably to his promise at Calais. Relying on Henry's word this was done, but he took no further notice of them,[a] and neither repaid the money they had laid out, answered their memorials, nor fulfilled his engagement, so that they remained in England until after the accession of Henry the Sixth.[b]

As this is an ex-parte statement, and no evidence exists by which to judge of its truth, it would be fruitless to discuss the merits of the question. All that can, under such circumstances, be said with propriety is, that this conduct is very inconsistent with Henry's usual character; and that reputation may in this, as in

[a] On the 3rd April, 1416, De Gaucourt obtained permission to go to France, with three persons in his suite, but he was to return to England by the 8th of May following, with all his horses, and goods. *Fœdera*, vol. ix. p. 337.

[b] *De Gaucort's Narrative*, printed in the APPENDIX. This document was communicated to the Royal Society of Literature, in 1827, by John Gordon Smith, M. D. and is printed in its Transactions.

other cases, be fairly allowed some weight against a mere accusation.

News of the battle reaches London, 29th Oct.

The news of the battle of Agincourt reached London very early on the morning of Tuesday, the 29th of October, on which the bells of all the churches were rung, and Te Deum was performed in most of them. At nine o'clock a procession, consisting of religious persons, went from St. Paul's to the shrine of St. Edward, at Westminster, and the Mayor elect, the Aldermen and crafts of London, Peers and other eminent individuals, together with the Queen Dowager, also went from the cathedral to Westminster, and offered at that shrine. As soon as the new Mayor had assumed his office, the citizens returned in high spirits,[a] and on Monday, the 4th of November, the Duke of Bedford announced the gratifying news to Parliament.[b]

Henry arrives at Dover, 16th Nov.

Henry embarked for England on Saturday, the 16th of November, and arrived at Dover[c] late on the same day. Though the wind was favorable, his passage was extremely boisterous; and the effect of it upon the French noblemen, the most important of whom were in the King's own ship, is described to have been so severe, that they considered their sufferings on the day of the battle not to have exceeded what they

[a] Harleian MS. 565. [b] *Rot. Parl.* vol. iv. p. 52.

[c] *Chronicler* A., Harleian MS. 565, and *Walsyngham*, who adds, that it was late on that day, and in a heavy fall of snow. *Monstrelet* says, he embarked for Dover on the 6th of November, and the *Records of Salisbury*, on the 23rd November, but these are clearly mistakes.

Henry's passage.

then experienced;[a] and were much astonished that Henry escaped sickness and appeared as composed as when on land. The storm was so great, that two vessels, in which were the retinue of Sir John Cornwall, according to one writer,[b] perished in it, with all who were on board, but Monstrelet says, they were only in great danger, and that some of the other ships containing prisoners were driven into the port of Zeriese in Holland, though none of the fleet was lost.

Reception of the King.

The King landed in safety, and such was the affectionate zeal with which the inhabitants of all ranks, both clergy and laity, welcomed him, that many it is said, perhaps figuratively, rushed into the sea and brought him on shore

At Dover.

in their arms.[c] He remained at Dover one day, to enable his prisoners and himself to recover from their voyage, and then proceeded towards London.[d] On his arrival at Canterbury, the Archbishop, the Abbot, and all the clergy

At Canterbury.

[a] *Livius*, p. 22. *Elmham*, p. 70, says, "the princes also, and noblemen his prisoners, crossed the sea in the same ship in which he was, according to his own orders, who, not accustomed to the motion of the sea, were rendered very sick by its rollings, and wondered that the King could keep himself safe and cheerful, without sickness. He then exclaims, "Exult, O happy England, rejoice and be glad at the return of thy King, for whose departure thou wast rendered very anxious: cease to be sad. This is he who by his industry renews and augments the ancient fame of thy nobility, covered with the mist of oblivion—who hath constituted thee Queen of Realms, hath exalted thee into the Olympus of praise, hath spread terror on thine enemies, and crowned thee with the glorious laurels of supreme victory. Be glad in the Lord, O England, Britain, who hath provided this most noble Prince and Monarch of thy Realm."

[b] *St. Remy*, p. 96.

[c] *Livius*, p. 22, and *Elmham*, p. 71.

[d] *Chronicler A.*

advanced to meet him;[a] and after halting in that city for a short time, continued his journey, and reached Eltham on Friday, the 22nd of November, where he slept.[b] The next day, about ten o'clock, he was met at Blackheath by the Mayor, Alderman, and Citizens of London, dressed in scarlet gowns, with red and white hoods, to the number of twenty thousand, all on horseback, and arranged according to their companies, the devises of which formed part of the ornaments of their apparel. After tendering their heartfelt congratulations to their Sovereign on his triumph and arrival, the Citizens advanced towards London, the King with a small suite following them; and he was thus escorted into the metropolis, where a magnificent pageant was prepared in honor of his return.[c]

At Eltham

Enters London, 23rd Nov.

Of this pageant a very minute account is preserved, and so graphically is the scene described that a painter would have little difficulty in pourtraying it. It would be worse than useless to attempt to convey an idea of Henry's reception in any other words than a translation of the narrative of a priest who witnessed it, stripped, however, of the pedantry and affectation by which it is disfigured.[d]

The Pageant, 23rd Nov.

On the top of a tower at the approach to London bridge, stood a gigantic figure holding an

[a] *St. Remy*, p. 96. [b] Harleian MS. 565., printed in the *Chronicle of London*, 4to. 1827. [c] *Chronicler* A. and *Lydgate*.

[d] *Chronicler* A.—A more literal version will be found among the STATEMENTS OF CONTEMPORARY WRITERS.

The Pageant, 23rd Nov.

axe in his right hand, as the champion of the city, and in his left, as porter, the keys on a staff;[a] at his right side stood a female not much less in size, wearing a scarlet mantle and ornaments, to personate his wife. Banners of the royal arms were placed on the turrets of this tower, and in front of it were the words, "Civitas Regis Justicie." As the procession advanced amid the sound of trumpets, clarions, and horns, nearer to the bridge, they found on each side a column in imitation of a tower, built of wood, and covered with linen cloth, painted like white marble and green jaspar. At the summit of the right hand column stood an antelope erect, having a shield with the royal arms suspended from his neck, and holding the sceptre in his right foot: and on the top of the other column was a lion erect, supporting in his right claws, a staff with the royal banner.[b] Over the foot of the bridge, across the road, was raised a tower like the columns, in the middle of which, under a

[a] *Lydgate* calls this figure,

"A gyaunt that was full grym of syght,
To teche the Frenchmen courtesye."

[b] This account of the supporters of the royal arms tends to establish what they really were, a point which has hitherto only rested on conjecture. Willement, in his *Regal Heraldry*, after noticing every statement he could find on the subject, remarks, "J. C. Brook, Somerset Herald, says that Henry the Fifth, when King, bore on the dexter side a Lion guardant, on the sinister an Antelope: he does not, however, give his authority for this assertion." p. 33. It appears from the text, that the lion was placed on the right, and the antelope on the left side, which would justify the opinion that such was the position of the animals on the royal achievement, but it is very unlikely that in *that* situation the one held a banner, and the other a shield and sceptre, which were probably introduced into the device in the pageant for effect.

splendid pavilion, stood a beautiful image of Saint George, armed, excepting his head, which was adorned with a laurel wreath studded with pearls and precious stones, and behind his back was crimson tapestry, covered with shields of his arms:[a] to the right hung his triumphal helmet, and on his left a shield of his arms: in his right hand he held the hilt of the sword with which he was girded, and in his left a roll which extended along the turrets, containing these words, "Soli Deo honor et gloria:" and in front of the tower, "Fluminis impetus letificat civitatem Dei." From the awning and turrets were hung halberds bearing the King's arms. In an adjoining house behind the tower were several boys, representing the angelic host, arrayed in white, with glittering wings, and wearing sprigs of laurel in their hair, who, on the King's approach, sang an English anthem,[b] accompanied by organs. The Pageant, 23rd Nov.

The tower of the conduit in Cornhill was covered with crimson cloth, spread like a tent on poles: around the middle of the tower were the arms of Saints George, Edward, Edmund, and of England,[c] in four places, with intermediate escutcheons of the royal arms, among which this

[a] The arms of St. George are Argent, a Cross Gules.

[b] It is to be regretted that in every instance when the Chronicler alludes to the songs sung in honor of Henry's reception, he should have omitted to give a copy of them. The song introduced into Percy's *Ancient Reliques*, was in all probability one of those alluded to, and a copy of it with the music will be found in the APPENDIX.

[c] For the description of these, see a former page, and also the engraving of the Banners borne at Agincourt.

The Pageant, 23rd Nov.

inscription was inserted, "Quoniam Rex sperat in Domino et in misericordia altissimi non commovebitur." Higher, on the turrets, were the arms of the royal family on halberds. Under the pavilion stood a company of prophets, dressed in coats and mantles of gold, having their heads covered with gold and crimson, who when Henry passed set a host of sparrows and other small birds at liberty, "as a sacrifice agreeable to God, in return for the victory; some of which alighted on his breast, some rested on his shoulders, and some fluttered about him." The prophets then sang, bowing to the ground, the psalm, "Cantate domino canticum novum alleluia. Quia mirabilia fecit alleluia. Salvavit, &c. The cavalcade advanced to the conduit at the entrance of Cheap Street, which was hung with green with escutcheons of the arms of the city; and the turrets were ornamented with halberds bearing arms, which projected as in other places. Under the covering were twelve venerable men, on whose foreheads were written the names of the apostles, together with the twelve Kings, Martyrs and Confessors of the succession of England, having girdles of gold, sceptres in their hands, and crowns on their heads, who chaunted at the King's approach, and threw upon him round leaves of silver mixed with thin wafers; wine at the same time running out of pipes from the conduit, "that they might," it is said, "receive him with bread and wine, as Melchisedec received Abra-

ham, returning victoriously from the slaughter of the four kings."

The Pageant, 23rd Nov.

On arriving at the cross of Cheap, a castle appeared instead of the cross, constructed of wood with equal ingenuity and elegance, and beautifully ornamented with towers, columns, and bastions; having arches on both sides, almost as high as a spear and a half, each of which at one extremity supported the castle, and at the other extending over the street, seemed to form part of the neighbouring buildings, under which the people rode as through two gates. On the fronts of these gates, on each side, was written, "Gloriosa dicta sunt de te civitas Dei." It was covered with a linen awning painted like white marble, and green and crimson jaspar, to represent polished stones. The arms of Saint George adorned the summit of the castle and the lower tower: on one part were the King's arms; on the other the Emperor's,[a] on halberds; and the lower turrets had the arms of the royal family, and of the great peers of the realm. From the middle of this castle towards the King, a handsome portal projected, from which was extended a wooden bridge, fifteen stadia in breadth, and reaching from the ground to the height of a man's waist, for the purpose of viewing the pageant, covered

[a] The arms of the Emperor were Quarterly, 1st and 4th, Argent, an Eagle displayed Sable; 2nd and 3rd Gules, a Lion rampant Argent, crowned Or. The introduction of these arms in the pageant, probably arose from the marriage between Richard the Second, and Ann, daughter of Charles King of Bohemia.

The Pageant, 23rd Nov.

with tapestry; posts and barriers being planted on each side, for avoiding the pressure of the people. Upon this bridge a chorus of beautiful virgins, elegantly attired in white, proceeded out of the castle to meet the King, singing with timbrol and dance, "as to another David coming from the slaughter of Goliath, who might be supposed to be represented by the French," this song of congratulation, "Welcome Henry the Fifth, King of England and of France." From the top to the bottom of the castle, in the towers, bastions, and columns, were numerous boys, to represent the archangelic and angelic host, in white apparel, and feathers, their hair studded with gems, who dropped minæ[a] of gold, with boughs of laurel, on the head of the King as he passed beneath; singing to the honor of God, with organs, "Te deum laudamus." Having reached the tower of the conduit of Cheap, towards Saint Paul's, they found that tower surrounded by many artificial pavilions, in each of which was a beautiful virgin standing like an image, crowned with laurel, wearing a girdle of gold, and having a golden cup in her hand, from which they gently blew round leaves of gold

[a] Over this word, which it is difficult to translate with accuracy, is written in each MS. *talenta*. They were probably small pieces of coin, for *Lydgate* says, they

"obles aboute oure Kyng gan throw,"

and that,

"With besaunts riche many a fold
They strowed oure Kyng on every syde."

The latter probably referred to the "round leaves of gold" which were blown upon Henry's head.

upon the King's head as he passed. This tower was covered with a canopy of the colour of the sky, with clouds artfully interwoven, the summit of which was ornamented by the image of an archangel, of lucid gold, variegated with other brilliant colours, and each of the four posts which supported the canopy was borne by an angel. Beneath on a throne, was a majestic representation of the sun, whose shining rays glittered with the utmost splendor, round which, angels chaunted sweetly with all kinds of music. On the tower was this inscription, "Deo Gracias." The Pageant, 23rd Nov.

Besides the crowd in the standing-places and in the streets, and the multitude of both sexes looking out of windows all the way from the bridge, so great was the pressure in Cheap, from one end to the other that the horsemen could scarcely ride through it. The lattices and windows on both sides were filled with the noblest ladies of the realm, and with men of distinction, elegantly dressed, in gold, fine linen, and crimson, forming so brilliant an assemblage that it was considered a spectacle of such splendor was never before seen in London. The sides of the houses and other buildings were lined with tapestry, on which were representations of the achievements of the heroes of antiquity, as well as of those of the Kings of England.[a] When the procession arrived at St. Paul's, Henry dismounted, and being received by fourteen Bishops

[a] *Livius*, p. 22—*Elmham*, p. 71.

The Pageant, 23rd Nov.

in pontificalibus, he entered the church and advancing to the high altar, made his offering, after which "Te Deum" was sung with great solemnity.[a] They then proceeded in the same order to Westminster, in which church the King again performed his devotions, and then entered his palace there, when the citizens returned to their homes.[b]

During this splendid scene, which lasted from ten in the morning until three in the afternoon,[c] Henry's deportment was strikingly modest and unassuming. He was simply attired in a purple robe, and rode gravely along, attended by a very small retinue, his thoughts being apparently occupied with gratitude to Providence for his triumph, and he seemed wholly indifferent to the honors rendered him by his grateful subjects. The most illustrious of his prisoners guarded by soldiers brought up the rear of his train; and so anxious was he to avoid exciting popular applause that he would not allow the helmet he wore at Agincourt, which from its battered state bore manifest proof of the danger he encountered, to be exhibited on the occasion; nor would he permit the minstrels to compose or sing songs in his praise,[d] but persisted in attributing the merit of his victory to God alone.[e]

[a] *St. Remy*, p. 92, says that Henry embarked in a boat at St. Paul's and proceeded to Westminster by water.

[b] *Lydgate* and the Cottonian MS. *Claudius*, A. viii.

[c] Lansdowne MS 1054, f. 55.

[d] *Elmham*, in the Preface to the *Metrical History of Henry V.* in the Cottonian MS. *Julius*, E. iv. f. 89, says "Ut igitur affeccio populorum a ser-

[e] *Elmham*, p. 71; *Livius*, p. 22.

Interview between the Count of Richmond and the Qneen.

An affecting incident is stated to have occurred on the arrival of Arthur Count of Richmond, one of the prisoners, at Westminster. His mother, Joan of Navarre, widow of John the valiant Duke of Brittany, married, secondly, King Henry the Fourth, and she consequently had to receive her son-in-law as the conqueror of her own son. Having obtained permission to see Richmond, before he entered her apartment she placed one of her ladies in her seat, and retired among her atteudants, two of whom stood before her. Mistaking that lady for the Queen he saluted her, and for sometime she supported the character of Her Majesty, and desired him to pay his compliments to the other ladies. On reaching his mother her heart betrayed her, and exclaiming, "Unhappy son, do you not know me," both burst into tears. They then embraced with great tenderness, and she gave him a thousand nobles, which he distributed among his fellow-prisoners and his guards, together with some ap-

vandis principum et dominorum amore et reverencia debitis non recedat; sane explananda subjectis sunt facta laudabilia dominorum. Hoc tamen realiter renuit faciendum pretactus Christianissimus ipse Princeps Rex noster; vix michi volens condescendere qui hec scribo, ut solerti scrutamine nobilium qui interfuerant, nuda et nota veritas de hiis que sunt acta temporibus suis in publicum pertransiret: ne forte opinio popularis Regium animum ex hiis que Deus ipse sibi et suis in victoria contulit estimaret inflari extollencia singularis fortune. Hac eademque de causa, nullo modo sermonibus ampullosis aut musicalibus instrumentis, cantica rithmica histrionum aut gesta de se vel suis commendancia, triumphale certamen proferri consentit. Hinc est quod tremulus et perplexus, hujus opusculi qualitatem quasi inter duo extrema, metrice potius quam prosaice tenui et exili duxi obnubilacione velandam."

parel; but after this interview no communication was permitted between them.[a]

Mayor of London waits on the King, 24th Nov.

On the next day, Sunday the 24th of November, the Mayor and Aldermen, attended by two hundred of the richest citizens, waited upon Henry at Westminster, and presented him with two basons of the value of five hundred pounds, filled with gold.[b]

Exequies of the Duke of York and others, 1st Dec.

On the 1st December,[c] the exequies of the gallant Duke of York, together with those of the other persons who died in the expedition, were solemnized with great ceremony at St. Paul's, the Earl of Dorset having come from Harfluer to attend,[d] and the record is preserved of the order issued for the banners, pennons, and ornaments for the Duke of York's hearse.[e] Agreeably to the directions in his will, which was dated on the 22nd of August, when he was at the siege of Harfleur, his body was interred at Fotheringay, in Northamptonshire; and to the master and companions of his college there he bequeathed all his vestments, crucifixes, images, tabernacles, and other valuable articles in his chapel, excepting the goods and jewels which he had pledged to enable him to accompany the King in that voyage. Of the Earl of

[a] *Histoire d' Artur III. Duc de Bretaigne.* Edited by Godefroy, 4to. 1622. *Livius*, p. 23, asserts that soon after Henry's return to London he visited other parts of the kingdom, and that he was every where received with great joy; but this statement is unsupported by any other authority.

[b] *Chronicle of London*, from the Harleian MS. 565.

[c] Sandford's *Genealogical History*.

[d] *Walsyngham*, p. 440.

[e] *Fœdera*, vol. ix. p. 334.

Suffolk, the only circumstance subsequently recorded connected with the battle of Agincourt, is the plaintive manner in which his brother and heir, William Duke of Suffolk, alluded to him in his petition to Henry the Sixth, in 1459. After noticing the public clamour against him, the Duke beseeched the King "to considre the true service that my lord my father didde to the Kyng of noble memorie your graunsire, in all the viages in his daies both by see and lande that were made oute of this lande, in the which he was at alle. And, after in the daies of the moost victorious prince the Kyng your fader, in whos service he died at Harflu. Myne eldest brother after with hym at the battail of Agyncourte; myne other two brethren also dieden in your service at Jargu, the day that I was taken; but, as a knyght ought to be, I trust to God, and paied xx^{m}li to my finaunce; my fourth brother lying there for me in hostage, died also in your ennemyes handes."[a]

It might be expected that the Public Records of Henry's reign, present many notices of the Battle of Agincourt; and numerous interesting facts would, doubtless, be brought to light if the muniments of the country were properly arranged, and every facility afforded for their examination. To the disgrace of an enlightened nation however, the most authentic materials for British History are in many instances suffered to perish from the want of care; and when better preserved, they are rendered sources of such ex-

[a] *Rot. Parl.* vol. v. p. 176[a].

tortionate profit, to the persons to whose custody they are entrusted, that it is scarcely possible to use them for literary purposes. From these causes, the allusions to that victory which are known are extremely few, and the historian of the event can do no more under a system which fatally impedes historical knowledge, than state the little he has discovered.

Pursuant to writs of summons issued by the Duke of Bedford, the Regent, on the 29th of September, Parliament met at Westminster on the 2nd of November, four days after intelligence of the battle reached the metropolis; and the joy which the event produced throughout the community appears to have influenced its proceedings. The Chancellor, in the speech with which he opened the Parliament, stated that it had been summoned with two objects; the one for the good government of the realm during the King's absence; the other for the aid and continuance of the expedition into France to recover the rights of his crown. He then pointed out the exertions which had been made to ensure the administration of justice and the peace of the country, and to bring the claims on France to a conclusion without bloodshed: but these, he said, having failed, Henry neglecting his personal comforts and safety resolved to invade that country, and "after a favorable passage, Harfleur, which was the strongest town in that part of the world, had surrendered to him without any loss; that afterwards, notwithstanding he had placed a strong

garrison there, and was deprived of the greater part of his army, many having died, and others returned to England for the recovery of their health, he had marched into the heart of France towards Calais with very few troops compared to his enemies; that he had met and fought with a great number of Dukes, Counts, Barons, Lords, and all the chivalry and force of France and other lands adjacent, and with the divine aid had defeated, taken, and slain them without suffering a great loss of the English;[a] and that after this glorious and marvellous victory he had arrived safe with his people and prisoners at Calais, praise be to God, and to the honor and advantage of the realm of England." The Chancellor concluded his address by reminding Parliament that as this honorable and profitable expedition thus began, could not be continued without assistance, he prayed that such provision should be made for the same as was expedient for the honor and safety of the King and of the whole realm. On the Wednesday following it was enacted, that as the gracious and victorious expedition which the King had begun in France could not be followed up, nor rendered advantageous to himself or the country, unless the two whole tenths and two fifteenths, which were granted in the octaves of St. Martin, to be levied in the usual manner,[b]

Allusions to the Battle in Parliament.

[a] "Sanz grund perde de les Engleis."

[b] "The usual manner" was one entire fifteenth and one entire tenth, at the feast of the Purification, 2nd of February, 1416; and the other entire fifteenth and tenth on the 2nd February, 1417, next following. *Rot. Parl.* vol. iv. p. 63.

Allusions to the Battle in Parliament.

were levied immediately; and that from the entire affection which they entertained for the person of his Majesty, and for the better accelerating and promoting the said expedition, they granted of their free will that the said fifteenth and tenth, which ought to be paid at the feast of the Purification, the 2nd of February, should be levied on the feast of St. Lucy, the 13th of December. As a further mark of their confidence and affection, and considering that the revenues of the kingdom and former grants, were not sufficient to enable the King to pursue his claim on France, but that he had been obliged to pawn his jewels for the support of the war; that his conquest of Harfleur had caused him great charges for its defence; and also, that his recent victory tended to the honor and exaltation of his crown, to his own fame, and to the singular satisfaction of his loyal subjects, the Commons granted him for life for the safety of the sea, the subsidy of linen, leathers, and skins, and a tax on certain wines and merchandizes exported, together with a tenth and fifteenth to be levied from the laity on the feast of St. Martin next, the 10th November, 1416.[a]

Another Parliament met on the 16th March, 1416, and Henry being seated on the throne in the painted chamber in his palace at Westminster, Henry Beaufort Bishop of Winchester, the Chancellor, opened the session with a speech,

[a] *Rot. Parl.* vol. iv. pp. 62, 63, 64.

in which he briefly announced his Majesty's recent success in France. He stated that "the King, with the consent of all the estates of the realm had made an expedition into that country for the recovery of the rights of his crown; that soon after his arrival near the town of Harfleur he laid siege to it, which surrendered to him; that he then proceeded by land to his town of Calais with few followers,[a] who were much enfeebled from the want of food; and that he was met by a very great force and multitude of the French,[b] and of other countries adjoining, and fought them until it pleased God of his great mercy to grant him the victory, when his adversaries were slain and discomfited, which success was evidence of the Almighty's approbation of his design." The Bishop then said that they were called together for the purpose of deliberating upon the best means of completing an object which had been so happily commenced.[c]

Allusions to the Battle in Parliament.

In the next parliament which met at Westminster on the 19th of October following the subject was again alluded to in the Chancellor's speech. After stating the efforts made by the King peaceably to obtain his lawful inheritance, he observed, that "his majesty invaded France in 1415, and in a short time afterwards took the town of Harfleur, which was the principal key of France, and then fought at Agincourt with all

[a] "Ove un poy de ses gentz trop fiblez par defaute de vitaille."

[b] "Ove un tres graunde poair et multitude des gentz de France, et d'autres paiis adjongantz ove eux."

[c] *Rot. Parl.* vol. iv. p. 70.

Allusions to the Battle in Parliament.

the power of France, over whom God had given him a most gracious victory. But notwithstanding that in the conflict great part of the French chivalry were slain, and that many Dukes, Counts, and other lords and chieftains of France were then his prisoners, the French being full of pride, and caring nothing for their said rebuff or weakness would not consent to his terms of peace, and that his Majesty was therefore again obliged to have recourse to the sword."[a] The battle was for the last time noticed in the speech of the Bishop of Durham, the Chancellor, on opening the Parliament which assembled at Westminster on the 16th of November, 1417, when he referred to the "gracious exploit and marvellous victory which the Omnipotent had vouchsafed to the King at Harfleur and Agincourt, in seeking the right of his crown in France."[b]

Notices of the Battle on the Rolls of Parliament, &c.

The Rolls of Parliament contain a few other notices of the Battle of Agincourt. In the 6th Hen. VI. 1427, the Duke of Gloucester and the Earl of Salisbury petitioned relative to the wages of their respective retinues which they stated had served at Harfleur and Agincourt; and in these proceedings the services of the Duke and Earl "as well in the siege and conquest of the King's town of Harfluer, as in the auspicious Battle of Agincourt," and subsequently in other parts of France are expressly recognized.[c] In the recital

[a] *Rot. Parl.* vol. iv. p. 94.

[b] *Ibid.* p. 106.

[c] *Ibid.* p. 320. See the APPENDIX.

of the merits of the Duke of Bedford, on the 24th of November, 12th Henry VI. 1433, in the petition of the Commons to the King the Duke's bravery at Vernieul is thus described, "and in especial, the Battle of Vernieul, the which was the greatest deed done by Englishmen in our days, save the Battle of Agincourt."[a]

Notices of the Battle on the Rolls of Parliament, &c.

Among the documents in the "Fœdera" relative to the prisoners taken at Agincourt is a writ for providing beds, curtains, blankets, coverlids, matrasses, and other necessaries, against the arrival of the Dukes of Orleans and Bourbon, and the Lords, Knights, and Esquires of France, being prisoners of the King, at Eltham, the Tower of London, Westminster, Windsor, and other places.[b]

Early in March, 1416, a reference was made to the King respecting the wages of those who served in the expedition, when he determined that the first quarter should be reckoned from the 8th of July, 1415, that allowance should be granted for those who died at Harfleur, as well as for those who were permitted to return to England in consequence of illness; that those who were left to garrison Harfleur should receive the rewards and wages stipulated for in their indentures from the time of their leaving England until they entered that place, on their oaths; and from that time to the end of the second quarter, by the oaths, and evidence of the Captain there, or his Lieutenant.

Henry's decision about the wages of his soldiers, March 1416.

[a] *Rot. Parl.* vol. iv. p. 423.

[b] *Fœdera*, vol. ix. p. 336.

Henry's decision about the wages of his soldiers, March 1416.

In reply to the question whether the accountants should be allowed for the whole of the second quarter for those who were killed at Agincourt, or only up to the time of their decease, Henry commanded that they should be allowed the same as for those who were then living. With respect to such as returned to Calais with the King, their wages were to be paid up to the eighth day after his arrival at Dover. He forbad any allowance being granted to those who were ready to embark with him, but were prevented by the want of transports; and ordered that payments should be made to such part only of the retinues of those who were ready to accompany him, as actually sailed.[a]

Roll of the Men-at-Arms at Agincourt

It is pleasing to trace the rewards bestowed by Henry on his companions in arms at Agincourt, and the measures which he adopted to preserve their names from oblivion. There can be little doubt that it was with this object the Roll which is printed in this volume was compiled, and it is much to be lamented that the exertions to discover the original of that record[b]

[a] Privy Council Book of Henry V. Cottonian MS. *Cleopatra*, F. iii. f. 147—159. These memoranda will be found in the APPENDIX.

[b] It is more than probable that the Original Roll still exists, and that it is preserved in one of the Offices of Record connected with the Court of Exchequer. Though it is presumed that it is not in the Chapter House at Westminster, the Roll may form part of the muniments in the Treasury of the Accounts of the Receipt of the Exchequer, or more likely in the King's Treasurer's Remembrancer's Office, the greater part of the important contents of which repository are now lying in bags in Westminster Hall, in their present condition perfectly useless, and as little heeded as if, instead of illustrating the history of this country, they were the papers of an insolvent tradesman. A hope was expressed in the former edition of this

have failed, for though so far as it extends it may be relied on, it is manifestly incomplete, and presents only about one half the names of those who were present. According to the attestation of Sir Robert Babthorpe, Comptroler of the King's Household he delivered to the Barons of the Exchequer on the 19th of November, in the fourth year of his reign, 1416, by the King's command, this Roll, consisting of eighteen "prestes,"—"the which Roll contains a parcel of the names of the persons who were with the King at the Battle of Agincourt, that is to say the second, in the third year of his reign, for execution to be done for the advantage of the King; and the said bill so taken from the said Roll is delivered by the Barons to the said Sir Robert Babthorp." Although this attestation, both in the French and English copy, is rather obscurely worded, it would appear to mean that the Roll contained the "Second parcell" of the names; and the First yet remains to be discovered. This conclusion is supported by the fact that of the eight hundred and twelve men-at-arms which formed the sum total of that Roll, not more than half are named in either of these transcripts, whilst of the three thousand and

Roll of the Men-at-Arms at Agincourt

work, that a careful search would be instituted for a document so identified with the ancient honor and renown of England, by the Commissioners appointed to preserve the public muniments, but it has not been realized. The Muster Roll of a subsequent expedition into France, and apparently of the one in the year 1417, has recently been found in the Chapter House: many of the names mentioned in this Roll occur therein, and generally in the retinues of the same persons.

Roll of the Men-at-Arms at Agincourt

seventy-one archers, not a third are enumerated at the end of the different retinues. There is, however, other evidence that this is only about one half of the record. It can be proved that several peers and other distinguished individuals were in the battle who are not noticed in this part of the Roll, namely, the Duke of York, the Earl of Salisbury, the Lords Clifford, Willoughby, Botreaux, Clinton, and Bourchier, Sir Edward Courtenay, and Sir Gilbert Umfreville, whose retinues, if proportionate to those of the same rank in this "parcell" would just complete the whole amount of men-at-arms and archers, of which the Roll is stated at the end, to have consisted. It may therefore, perhaps, be inferred that the persons who are confidently said to have been at Agincourt, but whose names are not to be found in this division of the Record, for example, David Gamme, Esq.[a] who was there slain; Sir Richard Waller, who is said to have captured the Duke of Orleans, and in consequence to have added that Prince's arms to his crest; John Wodehouse, Groom of the Chamber to the King, whose reputed gallantry on that occasion induced his descendants to assume "Agincourt" as their motto, together with some others, of whom similar anecdotes are related, exist on the missing part. Many of these stories are however apocryphal, and arose from the desire of tracing a

[a] An account of this person, with a notice of the well known expression imputed to him, on being asked the amount of the French army, will be found in the APPENDIX.

descent from the heroes of that day. All which stands upon the authority of contemporary writers, or which is supported by evidence has been noticed, and it will be seen how small a proportion it bears to the instances of individual heroism said to have been performed at Agincourt by Drayton, county historians, compilers of Peerages and Baronetages, and other writers. Much of what has been said on this subject may be true, but as family vanity is so deeply concerned in these assertions they must be received with suspicion.

Roll of the Men-at-Arms at Agincourt

The subjoined translation of a writ relative to coat armour allows of the inference that Henry was desirous of rewarding, in an especial manner, those who served under him in the battle, and it was probably with that view that their names were placed upon record; but what other privileges they received has not been ascertained. It is a common error to suppose that every person who was at Agincourt was allowed to assume whatever armorial bearings he pleased, which may be traced to Shakespeare having made Henry exclaim,

Persons who bore coat armour at Agincourt allowed to use the same.

> "For he, to day that sheds his blood with me,
> Shall be my brother; be he ne'er so vile
> This day shall gentle his condition."

The fact was, that when the King upon the occasion of another expedition, in 1417, found it necessary to restrain the assumption of coats of arms, he specially excepted such as had borne

Persons who bore coat armour at Agincourt allowed to use the same.

them at Agincourt, thus making the circumstance of their having used them on that day a sufficient title for their being continued; but he did not create any privilege to others to adopt them in consequence of their services on that occasion.

"Forasmuch, as we are informed divers persons, who in our expeditions heretofore made, assumed, and in our expedition to be forthwith made, (God speeding,) do purpose to wear Arms and Coats of Arms, called Coate-armures, although neither they nor their ancestors bore Arms in times past. And as the Almighty disposes his grace as he pleases to mankind, equally to rich and poor, so we willing that each one of our aforesaid subjects be duly treated and respected according to his rank, do command you that in all the places within your bailiwick where by our writ we lately caused proclamation to be made for musters, you cause it to be publicly proclaimed on our part, that no one, of what estate, degree, or condition soever he be, do take upon himself such Arms or Coats of Arms, unless he possess, or ought to possess them, by right of ancestry, or by grant of some person having sufficient power thereunto: And that on the day of his muster he do openly shew to the persons by us hereunto assigned or to be assigned, by whose grant he obtained the said Coats or Arms, excepting those who bore arms with us at the Battle of Agincourt, under penalty of being

refused to proceed in the aforesaid expedition in the retinue of him by whom he is retained, and of the loss of his pledges taken on the aforesaid account, and moreover of the erasure and seizure[a] of the said Arms and coats, called Coate-armures, at the time of his said muster, if they shall be seen or found upon him. And this do you in no wise omit. Witness the King at the city of New Sarum, the second day of June, 1417."[b]

Persons who bore coat armour at Agincourt allowed to use the same.

Similar writs were issued to the sheriffs of Wilts, Sussex, and Dorset.

In February 1424, Thomas Stryckland,[c] who bore the banner of St. George at Agincourt, petitioned in the following words to be rewarded for his services:

Petition of Thomas Stryckland.

"To the King our Sovereign Lord, and to the lords of his council, most humbly supplicates a poor Esquire, Thomas de Strykeland, late Bearer of the Banner of St. George, of the most noble Henry the Fifth whom God assoile. That it may please your good grace to consider the long service which the said suppliant has rendered to the said late King in parts beyond the sea, from the time of his arrival at Harfleur, and the Battle

[a] Rasuræ et rapturæ.

[b] *Fœdera*, vol. ix. p. 457.

[c] In 1430, a Sir Thomas de Strykeland made his will, being then "at his shipping in Sandwich," a copy of which is inserted in Burn's *History of Westmoreland*, and in the *Testamenta Vetusta*, p. 219, and if, as is probable, it was the individual who was at Agincourt, he was subsequently honored with knighthood. In the 6th Hen. V. the Bishop of Durham was ordered to receive the Lord of Berynger, and his son the Lord of Braquemont, from Thomas Stryckland. *Rot. Patent Normannie*, 6 Hen. V. Part. i. m. 10 d.

Petition of Thomas Stryck-land.

of Agincourt, and since, up to the time when the city of Rouen was taken. And the said suppliant has as yet received no reward for his services on the day of that battle, nor any payment for his gages excepting for half a year, so that at present he is found in arrears in his account in the Exchequer in the sum of £14, 4*s*. 10$\frac{1}{4}$*d*. for certain broken vessels of silver to him put in pledge by the said late King, the which vessels the said suppliant has sold, and spent the money in the service of the said late King. And therefore may it please you in reverence of God, and for the soul of the same King, to grant to the said suppliant £14, 4*s*. 10$\frac{1}{4}$*d*. in reward of his service, and in part payment of the gages to him due by the said late King, and to grant a sufficient warrant accordingly to the Treasurer and Barons of the Exchequer for the discharge of the said suppliant in the said Exchequer, towards the King of the £14, 4*s*, 10$d\frac{1}{4}$. above said, and this for the sake of God, and as an act of charity." His petition was granted, and a warrant was issued to the Treasurer and Barons of the Exchequer, to exempt him from the payment of the money, by the council.[a]

A petition to Henry the Sixth, from an old soldier, named Thomas Hostell, who was wounded at Harfleur, and served at Agincourt is also preserved :

[a] *Fœdera*, vol. ix p. 319.

Petition of Thomas Hostell.

"To the King our Sovereign Lord,

"Beseecheth meekly your poor liegeman and humble orator, Thomas Hostell, that in consideration of his services done to your noble progenitors, of full blessed memory, King Henry the Fourth, and King Henry the Fifth, whose souls God assoil, being at the siege of Harfleur, there smitten with a springolt through the head, losing his one eye, and his cheek bone broken. Also at the Battle of Agincourt, and after at the taking of the carracks on the sea, there with a gad of iron his plates smitten asunder and sore hurt, maimed, and wounded, by means whereof he being sore feebled and debruised, now fallen to great age and poverty, greatly indebted, and may not help himself, having not wherewith to be sustained nor relieved, but of men's gracious almasse, and being for his said services never yet recompensed nor rewarded, May it please your high and excellent grace, the premises tenderly considered of your benign pity and grace, to relieve and refresh your said poor orator, as it shall please you with your most gracious almasse at the reverence of God, and in work of charity, and he shall devoutly pray for the souls of your said noble progenitors, and for your most noble and high estate."[a]

It is deserving of attention that Henry selected the Peers and eminent commanders who were at Agincourt, to fill nearly every vacancy,

[a] MS. *Donat.* in the British Musuem, 4603, art. 100, printed in Ellis' *Original Letters*, Second Series, vol. i. p. 95.

The Garter given to Peers and Knights who were at Agincourt.

not bestowed on sovereign princes,[d] which occurred in the Order of the Garter during his reign. On St. George's day 1416, the Earls of Huntingdon, Oxford, and Salisbury, Lord Camois, and Sir William Harington, were installed; in 1419, Lord Willoughby de Eresby, Sir William Phelip, and Hugh Stafford Lord Bourchier became members; and in the next year the Order was conferred upon John Mowbray the Earl Marshal, Lord Clifford, Sir Hertank von Clux, Sir Lewis Robsart,[b] and Sir Walter Hungerford. Of the other individuals of rank who were in the battle, the Dukes of York and Gloucester, Lord Fitz Hugh, Sir Thomas Erpyngham, and Sir John Cornwall, were honored with the Garter before the expedition.[b]

Knighthood conferred.

Knighthood was conferred upon several Esquires, and the tradition that Gamme and one or two others who particularly distinguished themselves were dubbed as they lay expiring on the field, receives some support from the assertion of the writer who states that among the slain were two newly made knights.[c] More substantial marks of favour were however bestowed

[a] The three other vacancies were filled by Sir John Blount, Sir John Robsart, and William de la Pole, Earl of Suffolk. The Earl of Suffolk's father died at Harfleur, and his brother was killed at Agincourt. Both Sir James Blount and Sir John Robsart were in the expedition, and unless Monstrelet is correct in saying that Blount was left in command of 1000 archers at Harfleur, it is probable they were also in the battle.

[b] From the valuable collections for the History of the Order of the Garter, by George Frederick Beltz, Esq. Lancaster Herald.

[c] *Chronicler* A.

soon after Henry's return to England. In the same year, the Duke of Gloucester, besides other lands, obtained a grant of the manor of Lanstephen in Wales, which belonged to Henry Gwyn of Wales, who was killed serving among the French at Agincourt.[a] Sir John Phelip, and Lord Fitz Hugh obtained part of the lands of Lord Scrope of Masham; Sir William Porter received the manors of Wadele and Wickingsham in Berkshire, with others; Sir William Bourchier was made Constable of the Tower: to Sir John Gray was given the property of Sir Thomas Grey of Heton:[b] in January 1416, Sir John Fastolfe, who remained at Harfleur, had a grant of the manor of Frileuse, near that town, by the service of rendering a fleur de lys;[c] and Sir John Cornwall was gratified by the King bestowing on him the ransom of Peter de Reux,[d] Marshal of France.

Lands, &c. granted to Peers and Knights, who were at Agincourt.

To commemorate his victory, Henry created a King of Arms called, "Agincourt," and by a writ of Privy Seal, dated at Rouen on the 4th of March, 1419, he assigned to that officer, but whose name does not occur, twenty franks per annum out of the forfeited lands of Colart du Gardin, in the county of Eu, to hold the same during the King's pleasure;[e] and if the revenues of those lands exceeded that sum he was to account annually to the crown for the surplus. It

Agincourt King of Arms.

[a] Rot. Patent 3 Hen. V. Printed Calendar, p. 265.

[b] *Ibid.* pp. 264, 265.

[c] *Rot. Franc. Fœdera*, ix. 329.

[d] *Rot. Franc.*

[e] *Fœdera*, vol. ix. p. 702.

Agincourt King of Arms.

appears to have been a usual custom to create a Herald or King of Arms on the occasion, and by the name, of a victory, for soon after the Battle of Navarre in Spain, a notice occurs of Navarre Herald, and in December, 1401, Henry the Fourth granted him a shilling a day for life,[a]

Miracle on the day of the Battle.

Nor was the victory of Agincourt unmarked by one of those miracles which the church provided for every important event. In an address from the Archbishop of Canterbury, to the vicar of the Bishop of London, dated on the 16th December, 1416, after noticing the devotion of the English church to the holy saints, and more especially to St. John of Beverley, upon the feast of whose translation the victory at Agincourt had, through the merits of that holy man, been lately granted to the King, it is stated that at the precise time when the conflict occurred, a sacred oil issued like sweat from his tomb,[b] which undoubtedly displayed the divine mercy to his people. It was therefore commanded, in testimony of gratitude for so special a favor, that the festival of that saint, which had been formerly kept on the 7th of May, should in future be celebrated on the 25th of October, with the prescribed ceremonies; but as the feasts of the Saints Crispin and Crispinian had been for ages solemnized on that day, and lest the introduction of one festival should

[a] *Fœdera*, vol. viii. p. 236.

[b] These miraculous perspirations were not uncommon with this saint, for his legend presents a similar occurrence a few centuries after his interment.

lessen the respect due to the other, and rather that the said martyrs on whose day the Almighty had vouchsafed so gracious a visitation should be properly honored, it was provided that every succeeding 25th of October, should, in remembrance of that event, be celebrated by nine lessons, the first three of which should wholly pertain to St. Crispin and Crispinian; the next three to the translation of the aforesaid St. John; and the three last to the exposition of the Gospels of the former Martyrs, with the accustomed service, according to the use of Sarum.

Miracle on the day of the Battle.

Many of the French princes who were taken at Agincourt remained prisoners in England for several years. The Duke of Bourbon, Marshal Boucicault, and others died in confinement, being unable to pay the heavy ransoms demanded from them. The documents on this subject with which the records of the fifteenth century are crowded, prove that some of the prisoners were allowed to return to France on parole, or to send their servants thither to endeavour to raise money for their ransoms, and a few were permitted to pay part of the amount in wines or other commodities.[a] In 1425, the Count of Vendôsme was exchanged for the Earl of Huntingdon, on which occasion Sir John Cornwall released the arrears of the Count's ransom, which Henry the Fifth had granted to him.[b] The Count

Prisoners taken at Agincourt

[a] Notices of some of the arrangements relative to the release of prisoners will be found in the APPENDIX, as they tend to prove that the contracting parties were at Agincourt.

[b] *Rot. Parl.* vol. iv. p. 300.

Prisoners taken at Agincourt

d'Eu, who was originally entrusted to the custody of the Earl of Huntingdon, was removed to that of the Earl of Morton in 1435;[a] and the Duke of

Duke of Orleans.

Orleans was first sent to Windsor, then to Pomfret Castle, about 1430 to the Tower, and in 1433 was committed to the charge of the Duke of Suffolk, with an allowance of 14*s.* 4*d.* a day;[b] but was transferred to that of Sir Reginald Cobham, in 1436.[c] The Prince remained in the Tower until July 1440, when he paid 100,000 nobles for his ransom,[d] and solaced himself during his long imprisonment with literature. A volume of Poems, both in French and English, proves that he was endowed with taste and genius, and a copy of them in the British Museum[e] which contains the earliest view of London, is remarkable for the ingenious manner in which the stages of his imprisonment are represented. The Duke first appears in a boat going to the Tower; then in an apartment in that fortress writing his poems; he next occurs at a window viewing the retinue which is to escort him; again at the entrance receiving the gratulations of a Knight on his emancipation; and lastly disappears under the gate of the Tower with a train of horsemen. One of the conditions on which the Duke of Orleans was released was that he would never bear arms against England, to which he was sworn on the sacrament, in the presence of

[a] *Fœdera*, vol. x. p. 602. [b] *Ibid.* p. 564. [c] *Ibid.* p. 658.
[d] *Ibid.* pp. 776-786. [e] Royal MS. 16, f. 2.

Henry the Sixth and his Peers; and even then his enlargement was opposed by the Duke of Gloucester, who departed from the Council as soon as the service of the Mass, which formed part of the ceremony, commenced.[a] Duke of Orleans.

Of the immediate effects of the battle of Agincourt upon France, or upon this country, it is unnecessary to make any observations, but it is deserving of notice that neither the spirit nor the resources of France were exhausted by the heavy wound inflicted upon them on that occasion. This is not only admitted by Henry in his speech to Parliament in October 1416, but is evident from the necessity of another expedition to enforce his unjust pretensions, and the fact speaks loudly in praise of the energy and courage for which that nation is celebrated. By Englishmen that victory is justly contemplated as one of the most splendid events in the annals of their country. Though the recent achievements of our armies tend to throw former triumphs into the shade, the glory of AGINCOURT is imperishable; and base indeed must be the man whose valour is not strengthened when he remembers the prowess of his ancestor on that glorious day. Effects of the Battle of Agincourt.

[a] *Paston Letters*, vol. i. p. 5.

STATEMENTS

OF

CONTEMPORARY WRITERS;

TRANSLATED FROM THE ORIGINALS,

WITH NOTES.

[THE TEXT IS A TRANSLATION OF THE NARRATIVE OF A PRIEST WHO ACCOMPANIED THE EXPEDITION, WRITTEN IN LATIN, AND PRESERVED IN THE COTTONIAN MS. JULIUS E. IV. AND THE SLOANE MS. 1776, IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM.]

STATEMENTS
OF
CONTEMPORARY WRITERS.

Expedition leaves England.

On Wednesday, the 7th of August, the King went from his Castle of Porchester in a small vessel to the sea, and embarking on board his ship called 'The Trinity,' between the ports of Southampton and Portsmouth, he immediately ordered that the sail should be set, to signify his readiness to depart; and at the same time to serve as a signal to the fleet, which was dispersed among the sea ports, to hasten the more speedily to him.[a] And when, on the following day,[b] being Sunday, almost all had arrived, he set sail with a favorable wind. There were about fifteen hundred vessels,

[a] The King left Porchester Castle on Wednesday, the 7th of August, in a small vessel, and embarked on board his own ship called the Trinity, between Portsmouth and Southampton, and hoisted his sail-yard half way up the mast, to shew his readiness for sailing, and as a signal to the ships which were dispersed along the coast to hasten to him as soon as possible.—Note to *Hardyng's Chronicle*. Hardyng.

[b] 11th August. The following explanation of the text is perhaps necessary. It appears from it, that Henry embarked from Porchester Castle in a small vessel, on Wednesday, the 7th of August; that he was conveyed in her from that place to where his own ship, "the Trinity," was waiting for him; that he did not go on board "the Trinity," until Saturday the 10th of August; and that on "the following day," Sunday, the 11th of August, the whole of his fleet having collected around him, he proceeded to sea. *Livius*, p. 8, and *Elmham*, p. 36, assert that Henry's departure occurred on the 13th; whilst the anonymous Chronicler in the *Harleian MS.* 565, f. 75, and printed in the *Chronicle of London*, p. 100, says, that "on the morow after Seynt Lawrence day, the xi day of August, the Sonday, the Kyng and alle his retenue schipped iij houres after noon at Portesmouth, toward the town of Harefleu, in Normandye."

Expedition leaves England.

including about a hundred which were left behind.[a] After having passed the Isle of Wight, swans were seen swimming in the midst of the fleet, which in the opinion of all, were said to be happy auspices of the undertaking.[b] On the next day, being Tuesday,[c] about the fifth hour after noon, the King entered the mouth of the Seine, which passes to the sea from Paris, through Rouen

Arrives at Kidecaus, 13th Aug.

and Harfleur, and anchored before a place called Kidecaus, about three miles from Harfleur, where

Livius.

[a] *Titus Livius*, p. 8, says the fleet amounted to one thousand; but the Chronicler in the Cottonian MS. *Claudius*, A. viii. as well as a note to *Hardyng's Chronicle*, rates them at fifteen hundred; whilst *Monstrelet* asserts, that the number was about sixteen hundred; the Chronicler in the Cottonian MS. *Julius*, B. i. says, there were two thousand ships and more. *Lydgate* speaks of the fleet in the following manner:

"And fro thens to Suhthampton unto that strond
For sothe he wolde no longer there dwell
xv hundryd shippys redy there he fond
With riche sayles and heye topcastell." *Harl. MS.* 565, f. 104.

St. Remy.

[b] *St. Remy*, p. 82, states, that soon after the King's embarkation, and before his departure, one of his fleet took fire by accident, and that the flames extending to some others near her, three large ships, with all which was on board them, were destroyed. When they were nearly consumed the keel of the first ship flamed out brightly in the water. It was fortunate, he observes, that the mischief was not more extensive, but each vessel fell behind those on fire, for none of them dared to approach them; and he adds, that this, together with the conspiracy, were deemed ill omens by many, who therefore advised the King not to proceed, but he was deaf to such suggestions. If this event really occurred, it is singular that the writer in the text, who as well as the person who styled himself *Titus Livius*, are considered to have been in the expedition, should be silent on the subject.

[c] 13th August. By "the next day," must be understood the day after they passed the Isle of Wight. *Livius* says, they anchored before "Clef de Caux," the third night after their departure, which if they sailed, as he states, on the Ides, *i. e.* the 13th of August, must have been on the 16th; but this is clearly erroneous, for he goes on to say, that on the *day following* the King's landing, he celebrated the feast of the Assumption *i. e.* the 15th of August. Thus then, to render this writer consistent with himself on the point, we must consider him to state, that Henry quitted England on the 11th, and landed on the 14th; which agrees with the account of every other contemporary writer.

he proposed landing: and immediately a banner was displayed as a signal for the captains to attend a council; and they having assembled in council, he issued an order throughout the fleet that no one, under pain of death should land before him, but that the next morning they should be prepared to accompany him. This was done lest the ardour of the English should cause them, without consulting danger, to land before it was proper, disperse in search of plunder, and leave the landing of the King too much exposed. And when the following day dawned, that is on Wednesday, the vigil of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin,[a] the sun shining, and the morning beautiful, between the hours of six and seven, the noble Knight, Sir John Holland, Earl of Huntingdon the King's cousin, having been sent by his desire before day-break, in the stillness of the night, with certain horsemen as scouts to explore the country and place,[b] the King, with the greater part of his army, landed in small vessels, boats, and skiffs, and immediately took up a position on the hill nearest Harfleur, having on the one side, on the declivity of the valley, a coppice wood towards the river Seine,

Henry arrives at Kidecaus. 13th Aug.

Lands near Harfleur, 14th Aug.

[a] 14th August.

[b] The note to *Hardyng's Chronicle* before alluded to, states, that the Hardyng. detachment consisted of John Holland, Earl of Huntingdon, Gilbert Umfreville called Earl of Kyme, John Cornwall, John Grey, William Porter, John Stewarde, with other horsemen; that they were to reconnoitre Harfleur, and to chose a proper situation for the army; and that it was after receiving their report, which was favorable to his wishes, that the King determined upon his measures. This is corroborated by *Livius*.

Lands near Harfleur, 14th Aug.

and on the other enclosed farms and orchards, in order to rest himself and the army, until the remainder of the people, the horses, and other necessaries should be brought from the ships. The shore and place of our landing was indeed very rough, with large stones, against which the vessels were liable to be dashed; and with smaller stones fit for slinging, the means of offence to us, and defence to the enemy, if they had resolved to oppose our landing. On the opposite side of the shore they had made between us and the land a deep ditch full of water, with a mud wall of great thickness behind, towards the land, furnished with battlements like the walls of a tower or castle. Between every dike the earth was left a cubit in breadth, sufficient only for the ingress or egress of one person: and thus the space extending from the sea shore where landing, without the greatest difficulty would not have been thought of, as far as the marsh towards Harfleur, in distance about half a mile or more, was defended with stones which the bank of the river supplied; and with ditches, and fortified walls which the labour of the French had provided: but either from their inactivity, folly, or at least, want of precaution, no opposition was offered, where according to human judgment, the resistance of a few, if they had had the hearts of men, would very likely have repulsed us for a long time, and perhaps for ever. The entrance, indeed, into the marsh was very difficult, both by reason of the ditches and

gullies, through which the tide flowed and ebbed, and also on account of the narrow passes, where the resistance of the smallest number of people would have sufficed to drive back many thousands. Lands near Harfleur, 14th Aug.

And when towards Saturday[a] all things necessary for the march had been brought from the ships, his Majesty's royal foresight having in the meanwhile proclaimed to the army, among other good regulations, that no one under pain of death, should set fire to any place, (as had been done at the beginning,) that the churches, and sacred places, with their goods, should be left untouched; and that no one should lay hands upon a woman, nor upon a priest, or minister of the people unless armed, or offering violence or attack;[b] he moved towards the town of Harfleur, with his army disposed in three battalions,[c] and showed himself over against the town, on the ridge of the hill on one side in the midst of his division; the remainder being posted as wings to the main body. Indeed on the other side, the March towards Harfleur, 17th Aug.

[a] August 17th. The three days which had elapsed since their arrival, was, as Dr. Lingard suggests, probably occupied in landing the soldiers and the *materiel* of the army.

[b] *Livius*' account of the royal proclamation is more minute: "that upon pain of death, [*sub pœna lesæ majestatis*,] all churches and hallowed places should be kept inviolate, that no man should presume to take any hallowed vessel, or ornament pertaining to the altar, books, or other thing necessary for divine service, and that they should not injure any man of religion, or women.—p. 8. Livius.

[c] The word "battalion" is invariably used, not in its modern sense, but as the translation of *battailes*, which implied those divisions of an army, which at present are called *lines* or *columns*, according to their position.—*Dr. Meyrick.*

March towards Harfleur, 17th Aug.

approach was difficult, on account of the flowing and ebbing of the tide, on the one part of the town, and the stream of fresh water running through the valley on the other.[a] This town is situated in the extremity of the valley, at the mouth of the river Seine: the sea flows through it beyond the centre of the town, ebbing to the

Harfleur described.

Livius.

[a] The account of the King's proceedings after he landed, by *Livius*, is much more circumstantial. After noticing the apprehension which their invasion produced on the inhabitants of the neighbouring places, who were informed of it by those who fled through the fields, he says, "then forthwith the King falling upon his knees, prayed unto God, that he would give him justice on his enemies; and then gave to divers gentlemen the order of Knighthood, and committed the bearing of the standards and banners and other ensigns, to such men as he knew to be of great strength and prowess, and worthy to bear them. When every thing was thus ordered in good array, the King, with all his host, ascended to the top of the high hill there near, which was difficult for armed men to mount, so that on the following day the feast of the Assumption of our Blessed Lady might be solemnized with due honor. The Duke of Clarence, chieftain of the King's first ward, kept his soldiers in a field before the town of Harfleur, scarcely three leagues from Clef de Caux, not far from the King's tent. The Earl of Suffolk, chieftain of the second ward, lodged in the fields on the other side of the King's camp; and the other noblemen who had the conduct of the two wings, lodged one on the right hand, and the other on the left hand.—p. 8.—To this it is desirable that *Monstrelet's* narrative should be added.—He says, that Henry landed without any effusion of blood, and had with him about sixteen hundred vessels, filled with people and stores; that when they were landed, the King lodged at Graville, in a Priory, with the Dukes of Clarence and Gloucester, his brothers, near him; that the Duke of York, and the Earl of Dorset, his uncles, the Bishop of Norwich, the Earls of Wynesour, Suffolk, Marshall, Warwick and Quin, [query Kyme] the Lord of Cambridge, [the Earl of Cambridge was beheaded about ten days before,] Beaumont, Willoughby, Trompeton, [query Sir Roger Trumpyngton,] Cornwall, Mollifrac, [query Maltravers,] and many others lodged where they best could; and that afterwards they powerfully besieged the town of Harfleur, which was the key, towards the sea of all Normandy; and that there was in the King's army, about six thousand bacinets and twenty-four thousand archers, besides gunners, and others using "flondelles," and engines, of which they had a great abundance,"—Ed. 1595, p. 223.[b] Six thousand bacinets, implies as many men-at-arms. Flondelles appears to be a misprint for Rhondelles, which were the circular shields borne by such as were engaged at the engines and others, to protect them during their operations.—*Dr. Meyrick.*

Monstrelet

extent of a mile, and further down, the stream of fresh water descends through the middle of the valley, filling the ditches to a great depth and breadth without the walls on that side of the valley, where the king shewed himself, as far as the near bank of the river Seine, which enters into the middle of the town beneath the walls by a watergate, and two lateral arched tunnels opening and closing wholly or in part, at the will of the inhabitants. Within the walls the streams that enter turn two mills, which served for grinding the food of the citizens and people; and passing the mills, the water issues from the tunnel, and runs in a full stream through the middle of the town to the port. Harfleur described.

The other side of the town, opposite to the King, is well fortified with a double ditch, of which the interior one is of unknown depth, and the proper breadth. This town is but small, but very fairly fortified, and surrounded with walls embattled, and therefore, according to Master Giles,[a] very difficult to be attacked, and very easily and securely to be defended; with towers lofty and well built, and other lower intermediate defences, having three gates for ingress and egress, one towards the side where the King shewed himself, and two on the opposite side, both of which, on account of the water running in the said ditches, were inaccessible to our approach. And before the entrance of each of

[a] See page 58, note.

Harfleur described.

these gates, the enemy had prudently erected a strong defence, which we term 'a barbican,' but commonly called bulwarks; that towards the King was the strongest and largest, being defended without with round thick trees, nearly to the height of the walls of the town, fastened around, bound, and girded together very strongly. The interior is fortified with a wall of earth and rough hewn beams in the bye-paths and narrow places, for the reception of the enemy, with narrow chinks and places full of holes through which they might annoy us with their tubes,[a] which we in English call 'gunnys,' and with arrows, cross-bows, and other offensive weapons. The structure of it was round, containing more in diameter than the cast of a stone, with which our common people in England are wont to amuse themselves by the road side. Water of great depth and breadth surrounded it, being about two lances length broad in the narrowest part, having a bridge for ingress and egress towards the town, and a little wooden gate, which at the will of the enemy might be either placed or withdrawn as often as it was thought convenient to sally out upon us. The interior of the town is adorned with handsome buildings, closely built, and one parish church. The port for the reception of ships,[b] and which receives them as far as

[a] These tubes were a small kind of ordnance: hand fire-arms were not invented before the year 1430.—*Dr. Meyrick.*

[b] *Livius* says, that in this port a very large fleet of ships might ride in safety.—p. 9.

the middle of the town, is furnished with walls closing on each side of the channel, beyond the walls, with three defences at proper distances. At its entrance are two fine towers, between which the water ebbs and flows, one of which is lofty and very commanding, doubly armed at the top and middle, and the other tower armed only at the top, the chains of each preventing any vessel without license from passing or repassing between them; which entrance, and a great portion of the wall where the sea was open for vessels at the flowing of the tide, the enemy had prudently fortified with stakes and trunks of trees, thicker than a man's thigh, placed in great bodies, both towards the town within and towards the river without; so that if our ships had approached at the flowing of the tide, to make an irruption through the port, or an assault on the walls, the stakes being perceived, they would either withdraw, or not caring for their own safety, the stakes being perchance covered by the flowing of the tide, they would dash themselves upon them, and very likely be shipwrecked.

Harfleur described.

And when, as has been before written, our King on the Saturday[a] shewed himself before the town, the army being encamped in fields, enclosed orchards, and other places, as the state of things required, he issued orders for pressing the siege on every side with great vigour; and among

Preparations for the Siege, 17th Aug.

[a] 17th August.

The Siege. other things, for establishing stations of men and beasts of burden, to bring in forage for the sustenance of the army,[a] and for better regulating the watches by day and night, to prevent the sallies and stratagems of the enemy.

18th Aug. On the morrow, being Sunday,[b] the Lord de Gaucourt, a Frenchman who was said to have been sent to protect the town by the French council, reinforced it with about three hundred lances,[c] on the opposite side, which was yet free to the enemy, and inaccessible to us, on account of the rivers before mentioned. On the night following,[d] by the advice of council, the King sent the illustrious Prince Thomas Duke of Clarence, his next brother, a soldier not less renowned in the use of arms than in personal courage, with

St. Remy. [a] According to *St. Remy*, pp. 82-83, as soon as the siege began the English sent their harbingers about the country, who took prisoners, provisions, &c. for the camp, and did all the mischief they could.

[b] August 18.

Monstrelet [c] The following is *Monstrelet's* description of the siege: "In this town, besides the inhabitants, there were four hundred men-at-arms chosen for its defence, among whom were the Lords d'Estouteville, captain of the said town, de Blainville, de Baqueville, de Hermanville, de Gaillart de Bos, de Cleré, de Bectou, de Adsanches, de Briauté, de Gaucourt, de l'Isle Adam, and many other valiant Knights and Esquires, to the amount above stated, who strongly resisted the English, but owing to their great numbers and force, their efforts were unsuccessful, and they were barely able to return within the walls. They broke down the causeway between Montivilliers and Harfleur, to impede the English, and brought the stones of it into the town; but notwithstanding the English took many prisoners, and much booty, and laid their engines in more convenient places, close to the walls, and immediately threw great stones, by which they were much damaged. The besieged defended themselves bravely with engines and cross bowmen, killing many of the English. To the town there are only two gates, that is to say, the gate of Caltinant, and the gate of Montivilliers, through which the besieged made many sallies upon the English, who stoutly resisted them."—Ed. 1595, p. 223.[b]—*St. Remy*, p. 82, says, the garrison consisted of above 300 men-at-arms.

[d] The night of Sunday, the 18th of August.

part of the army to press the siege on that side,[a] the passing over to which was about nine or ten miles round, on account of the roughness of the way, and the dangers of the vallies, and especially that in which Harfluer was situated, the way not being open; for the inhabitants, upon first hearing of our approach, having broken down their bridges, stopped up the current of the stream which ran through the midst of the valley; so that by reason of the stoppage in the town, the water at our approach swelled over all the meadows of the valley, up to the ditches of the walls, in depth not less than the height of a man's thigh, and expanding in breadth more by a quarter than the Thames at London. The Siege of Harfleur.

On that night[b] the Duke seized in his route, Sunday, 18th Aug.

[a] *Livius'* account of the circumstance is worthy of perusal, from the care with which he notices the attention paid to religious duties. "The King then raised his pavilion on a mount near a chapel, and having invested the town-walls with his camp, commanded his brother, the Duke of Clarence, to encamp on the other side of the river, who, in the passage, had a sharp conflict with the townsmen, who had been appointed to guard the ford; but, after many wounds on both sides, they were put to flight, and retreated within the walls. Having succeeded in the attempt, he fixed his tents along the river, by the foot of the hill, unto the banks of the Seine. The Duke also set up his pavilion upon the hill, in a chapel. Notwithstanding the camp was divided by the river, yet the tents and pavilions erected, the roads cut, and the numerous workmen employed in their various occupations, some in raising engines against the town, and others in assisting the soldiers, gave to the camp the appearance of a very noble town. And the King's priests were offering prayers to God, and performing their sacred services, at the usual hours, as if they were at home in a state of peace. The King committed unto his brother Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester, the care of this siege, with very many of the troops, and in the other place to the Duke of York, and to the Marshal of England, on that part of the river on which the King was stationed with other noble chieftains." Livius.

[b] The night of Sunday, the 18th of August. This event is thus noticed

The Siege, 18th Aug. some two-horse and four-horse waggons of the enemy, with guns, vessels of powder, arrows and cross-bows, in great abundance, which were supposed to have come from Rouen for the defence

19th Aug. of the town; and on the Monday morning,[a] the sun shining, he shewed himself on the ridge of the hill on that side, not without dread and terror to the inhabitants. The siege being now ordered on the side towards the sea by the fleet, and on that towards the valley and fresh water stream by the boats, which served for the access as well of the King as of the Duke and divided army, if it should be necessary; our King who sought peace, not war, in order that he might further arm the cause in which he was engaged with the shield of justice, according to the law of Deuteronomy, chap. xx.,[b] offered peace to the besieged, if they would open the gates to him, and restore, as was their duty, freely, without compulsion, that town, the noble hereditary portion of his crown of England, and of his Dukedom of Normandy.[c]

Monstrelet by *Monstrelet*. "Then happened a great misfortune to the besieged, for the shot and powder sent to them by the King of France, was met with and taken by the besiegers"—Ed. 1595, p. 223,[b] and by *St. Remy*, p. 83.

[a] 19th of August.

[b] The affectation of acting upon every occasion in accordance with the Divine Will, and prostituting the Holy Writings to defend or extenuate measures which originated in ambition, has been before commented upon as characteristic of all Henry's proceedings. The allusion in the text is to the 10th verse of the xxth chapter of Deuteronomy: "When thou comest nigh to a city to fight against it, then proclaim peace unto it." He cited this passage in one of his letters to the French monarch.

Des Ursins [c] *Des Ursins* says, that about the 1st of September, the besieged sent a man to the King of France, whom they let down by night under the walls,

But as they, despising and setting at nought this offer, strove to keep possession of, and to defend the town against him,[a] our King summoned to fight, as it were, against his will, called upon God to witness his just cause; and reminded them of the penal law to be inflicted upon a rebellious people, if they should thus finally persist in their obstinacy: yet willing first to use the remedy of a more gentle assault and scourge, by which he might have an eye both to the harassing of his enemies and the protection of his own men, that if possible the rebellion of his adversaries might be overcome in this way, before he should proceed to greater severities against them, he gave himself no rest by day or night, until he had fitted and fixed his engines and guns under the walls, and planted them within shot of the enemy, against the front of the town, and against the walls, gates, and towers, of the same; and had covered them against the shot and offensive weapons of the enemy, with protecting edifices of tall and thick planks, which were so contrived and fitted with timber and iron work, that whilst the upper end was drawn downward,[b] the lower

The Siege

to ask for aid; that the Duke de Guyenne received their message at St. Des Ursins Denys, on Tuesday, the 3rd of September, where he had arrived on his way to Rouen, and that he ordered some troops to proceed to their assistance. p. 292.

[a] The Lord de Gaucourt and his colleagues are said to have proudly replied to Henry's summons, that they did not hold the town or any thing else for him; that they were well assured the King, their master, would not suffer them to be long besieged; and that they speedily hoped to see him arrive with ample force to relieve them.—*Laboureur*, p. 1003. Laboureur

[b] This seems to refer to a flat covering, which turned on two pins on

The Siege. would raise itself towards the front of the town, so that taking aim at the place to be battered, the guns from beneath blew forth stones by the force of ignited powders. On each side of this battery he caused trenches to be made, which served, together with the excavated earth cast up upon faggots placed there, as a protection to those who were appointed to attend the guns and engines, and who kept daily and nightly watches, for preventing the sallies of the enemy. He also caused to be constructed similar muniments for those who watched day and night, opposite the enemy's aforesaid strongest bulwark, lest they should sally from the same. Those assigned to this duty were continually mining the earth towards the bulwark itself; neither did they cease until at length they came under it, at least as near the side as they could on account of the water. In the mean time our King, with his guns and engines, so battered the said bulwark, and the walls and towers on every side, (especially where the enemy had arrayed their guns and cross-bows towards us,) that within a few days, by the impetuosity and fury of the stones, the same bulwark was in great part broken down; and the walls and towers from which the enemy had sent forth their weapons,

opposite sides, and was pulled down to protect the men while preparing, and pushed up when they were ready to assault the enemy. An ancient machine of this character occurs in an illumination of a "Chronique d'Angleterre" of the time of Edward IV. in the Royal Library in the British Museum, marked 14 E. iv.—*Dr. Meyrick.*

were rendered defenceless by the bastions falling in ruins; and very fine edifices, even to the middle of the city, either lay altogether in ruins, or threatened an inevitable fall; or were so shaken as to be exceedingly damaged.[a] The Siege.

That, amongst these various assaults and defences, I should not be altogether silent in the praise of the enemy,[b] who, as long as they were protected by the said bulwark, and the walls and

[a] *Laboureur* states, that among other engines the English had some which threw stones of a monstrous size, and projected entire mill-stones, [des meule stoutes entieres] which threw down the walls with a frightful noise, so that by the feast of the Assumption [15th of August] all their batteries were destroyed. The faux-bourgs being burnt, the besieged commenced bloody assaults, which lasted whole days from their sending fresh people, who gallantly followed up what those who were fatigued had begun. He then deservedly praises the conduct of the Lords Estouteville, Quitry, Gaucourt, Bacqueville, Blainville, Bureau, and Martel, the Sire de Braquemont, the Baudran de la Heuse, Minguet de Coustes, and the two hundred men who were appointed to defend the town, and points out the difficulties which they encountered.—p. 1003. *Des Ursins* says, that when Henry landed, the Lords Lyonnet de Braquemont, Estouteville, and Bacqueville, and the Chastelain de Beavais were in Harfleur, and that Gaucourt and Mignet de Coutes arrived afterwards, p. 291, which agrees with the Chronicler in the text. Laboureur

[b] *St. Remy* says, that during the siege of Harfleur, many French noblemen assembled with from five to six thousand horse as near the English camp as possible, with the intention of planting ambuscades, and to send scouts against the besiegers, to induce them to sally out from their encampments. This was accordingly done, and three ambuscades were planted, and scouts [coureurs] ordered to attack the besiegers. Among the scouts were many nobles, including the Lord of L'Isle Adam, and Messire Jaques de Brimeu, who were afterwards made Knights of the Golden Fleece, and who were captured on this occasion. They approached the English camp and gave an alarm, and immediately the English horse warmly pursued them, and in consequence of not being ordered to retreat from where they were sent, the scouts were taken. On that day the English would have suffered severely, had the affair been well conducted, but the Baron de Yury shewed himself too soon, and consequently the English gave up the pursuit, and returned to their camp with little loss. In this attack the Lord of L'Isle Adam, and Messire Jacques de Brimeu were captured by the retinue of Lord Robsert, a native of Hainault, the which were English, and in the service of the King of England.—p. 84. St. Remy.

The Siege. towers, and even afterwards, concealing themselves did what hurt and mischief they could with their guns, cross-bows, and engines, through ruins, lattices, and broken holes, and from other parts where there was thought to be no place of refuge. And although our guns had dismantled the bulwark, walls, and towers during the day, the besieged by night, with logs, faggots, and tubs on vessels full of earth, mud, and sand or stones, piled up above the bulwark and walls, and faggots with clay, earth, and mud, within the shattered walls, and with other barricadoes, refortified the streets; and even thus stopped up the lanes with clay, earth and mud, in great thickness; so that the stones from our guns, coming down upon them, might be swallowed up in them, lest the besieged who were in the lanes or streets, should suffer damage, hurt, or death, from the sudden and unexpected violence of the stones, or the fragments of them. They had also warily provided on the walls, an abundance of pots full of combustible powders of sulphur and quick lime, to cast into the eyes of our men, if an assault should be made, and vessels of scorching earth and oils, and fat combustibles for the burning and destruction of our ranks, when they should approach to the walls for an assault. Nor could the besieged, in the judgment of man, have resisted our attacks more prudently, or more cautiously, than they did.

Whilst these things were going on, the King

was to have made an attack by means of mines, extending by a vault through subterranean ways, to have undermined the walls on the side of the Duke of Clarence. But this work, which was begun contrary to the opinion of Master Giles, in the sight of the enemy, (for on account of the neighbouring hill and other causes, it could not be done otherwise,) being by counter mines and other skilful projects, twice frustrated through the enemy's industry, and already a third time renewed, produced no advantage;[a] unless perhaps that of striking terror into the besieged, which might induce them to surrender the town sooner, or by delaying the assault, and scaling of the walls, it might thus be the preservation of human blood, and perhaps was the cause of greater good. The Siege.

Our King had caused faggots of ten feet in length to be carried by the army for the filling up of the ditches on his side; also towers and wooden bulwarks of the height of the walls, and ladders and other instruments, besides those which he had brought with him for the assault. On the part of the Duke of Clarence faggots of this kind were prepared, and piled up into very

[a] *Livius*' account of these counter-mines is, "At the meeting of the miners under ground, a cruel and deadly conflict took place. But finally the Englishmen were frustrated of their intent, and the soldiers were permitted to enter the mines, and being encouraged by the King to do so, they fought most manfully in the same. And thus the mine, which was begun for the sudden invasion of the town, was changed into the field for knightly deeds."—p. 10. See also *Elmham*, p. 45, who says the English were unaccustomed to these mines, from having been so long at peace. Livius.

The Siege. large heaps for the filling up of the ditches on that side. But the contrivance of the enemy for setting them and our people on fire, when they were together in the ditches, by means of powders and combustibles prepared on the walls, having been observed, that project was stopped; yet they served for screens to our people at the foot of the hill against the shot of the enemy, and often sheltered them from the violence of the missiles. In the mean time our guard, which had been stationed upon the said work of the mines, recovered the ditch outside the walls, and shot at the sentinels with darts from cross-bows, and stones from slings, and with various other weapons, that they might drive them away from the walls. Under that protection they so harassed the enemy's contrivances, that the ditch, which before was thought a great defence to them, became at length a fortification to the besiegers, and not less an annoyance to the besieged. And amongst these various anxieties a siege was very perilous on that side, on account of the difficulty of communication between the King and the Duke of Clarence, which could only be effected in boats, or by a long circuit; as well as from the probability of the enemy sallying out upon them, because that place was nearer and fitter for their incursions. The same Duke, according to the advice of Master Giles, and by order of the King, caused a trench of great depth and breadth to be dug betwixt him and the enemy, and the earth dug

out to be cast towards his own men, and he be- The Siege.
gan to fortify the trench by fixing in it thick trees and stakes, between which, in certain places, stones might be shot at the enemy, from guns and arrows, from cross-bows and long-bows, a most effectual defence for his soldiers, and to the no less mischief of the enemy if they had approached. He caused this trench moreover to be constructed by his lancemen and bowmen, having appointed masters of the works, and assigned certain feet of ground to each lance and to each bow, until the whole work was entirely accomplished.[a]

After these works and hostile movements, the gracious and merciful God, willing to try the patience of our King, and of his anointed, besides the death of some other nobles of his army, touched him in the death of one of his most loving and dear subjects, namely, the Lord Richard Courtenay, Bishop of Norwich; who being of a noble family, of tall stature, of excellent wit, and not less distinguished for great eloquence and learning, than for other of the more noble endowments of nature, was considered to be a constant favorite in the royal councils above all. He fell sick on Tuesday, the tenth of September, of a bloody flux, and on the following Sunday,[b] in the presence of the King, 15th Sept

[a] It must have been about this time that Henry received the letter from Charles VI. in answer to his communication of the 28th July, both of which letters are printed in the APPENDIX.

[b] 15th September. Richard Courtenay, Bishop of Norwich, was the

The Siege, 15th Sept.

who covered his feet with extreme unction, and closed his eyes with his own hands, amidst the bitterness and tears of many, released his spirit from its prison: and our King out of his tender affection, quickly sent him over to England, to be honorably interred in the royal cemetry at Westminster. And on the same day happened another thing, which was also sufficient to have moved the King[a] from his purpose: for our enemies, who guarded the strongest bulwark, made a sally upon our guard opposite them, and through the inadvertence and carelessness of our men, set their fortifications on fire. But at length, by the will of God, the fire was extinguished, and the enemy were put to flight, without great damage to our men. Yet they infected us with sleep and inactivity, and we were not able to keep better watch.

And because good things are neighbours to bad, and sweet things commonly succeed to bitter, God remembered us on the morrow, and held forth to us the palm of victory over the same bul-

eldest son of Sir Philip Courtenay, of Powdersham Castle, in Devonshire, and grandson of Hugh Courtenay, Earl of Devon, by Margaret, daughter of Humphrey de Bohun, Earl of Hereford, by Elizabeth Plantagenet, daughter of King Edward the First. This Prelate, who was consequently distantly related to the King, was educated under his uncle William, Archbishop of Canterbury, who adopted him as his son. He was a student of Oxford, and became famous for his learning, especially for his knowledge of civil and canon law: he was successively, Dean of St. Asaph, Canon of York, Chancellor of Oxford, Dean of Wells, and on the 11th of September, 1413, Bishop of Norwich, *Escheat* 7 Hen. IV., No. 51. *Le Neve's Fasti Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ*, and *Collins' Peerage*, vol. vi. p. 254.

[a] *Elmham* particularly notices Henry's activity, in inspecting the measures adopted by the besiegers, and the manner in which he encouraged his army, p 46.

wark, which the proud French always considered invincible. For the aforesaid John Holland, Earl of Huntingdon,[a] a strenuous and enterprising, though young soldier, commanding our guard opposite to it, and having in the afternoon engaged with the French, who sallied out upon the guard, but were routed, raging fire had at length been hurled against them by a dart, and the men had directed their industry and strength in attacking that part which had before been shattered by the stones from the guns, and was consequently made more liable to take fire. Our soldiers therefore continually feeding the flame with combustible powders, at length gained the strongest part of the bulwark, through the ditch which was between them and the bulwark, and which the King's vigilance had caused to be filled up with the said long fascines, under the silence and shelter of night. And immediately having sent in the banner of the said Earl, they set it on fire in the middle, where the strength of the French was greater; and the French who were overcome, were still resisting and busy in extinguishing the fire, until at length by force of arms, darts, and flames, their strength was destroyed. Leaving the place therefore to our party, they fled and

The Siege

[a] The note to *Hardyng's Chronicle* states, that the sally was made upon the Earls of Huntingdon and Kyme, John Cornwall, William Bourchier, John Gray, William Porter and John Steward, noble Knights, who with their lances and bowmen, fought and overcame them in a severe conflict, killing many and forcing the rest to fly into the bastion of the city; and sent fire by darts to recover that bastion, when they placed their standard upon the walls.

Hardyng.

The Siege. retreated within the walls for protection; most carefully blocking up the entrance with timber, stones, earth, and mud, lest our people should rush in upon them through the same passage; spreading great confusion over them, and no small joy on ourselves. Although our men laboured with all diligence and exertion to extinguish the fire, yet for two or three days the flames could not be wholly got under, and even for a fortnight the smoke kept issuing from the ruins.[a]

17th Sept. On the following day, Tuesday the 17th of September, a conference was held with the aforesaid Lord de Gaucourt, who acted as captain, and with the more powerful leaders, whether it were the determination of the inhabitants, still remembering the penalties of Deuteronomy, to surrender the town, without suffering farther rigour of death or war. But the King, seeing his terms despised, and that they could not be overcome by the distress occasioned by a mild mode of attack, determined to proceed with more rigour against a people whose obstinacy, neither alluring kindness, nor destructive severity could soften.

Livius. [a] During the siege the King sent such of his ships as were unfit for service to England, whilst the serviceable ones were ordered to blockade the mouth of the harbour of Harfleur: and those vessels which were appointed to convey engines and ordnance, he directed to remain at the entrance of the harbour with the others. The besieged, finding themselves surrounded as well by sea as by land, conveyed all their ships within the haven, bound them together with chains, and made numerous attempts to attack the English fleet, but were always repulsed.—*Livius*, p. 10, *Elmham*, p. 40.

Towards night, therefore, he caused pro- The Siege, 17th Sept.
clamation by trumpet to be made in the midst of the squadrons, that all the mariners, as well as others who were on the stations assigned them by their captains, should be prepared on the morrow to storm and mount the walls, which had been rendered by the shot of our guns more convenient and safe for the purpose, and much more unfit for the enemy to make resistance, or even to protect themselves from destruction. Towards night he began to assail them more than usual with stones, that he might prevent them from sleeping, and thereby render them on the morrow more easy to conquer. But God himself, propitious and merciful to his people, sparing the effusion of blood which probably would have been shed in storming the walls, turned away from us the sword, and struck terror into our enemies, who were probably broken-hearted on account of the loss of the said bulwark, and hearing they were so suddenly to be assaulted and stormed; and also at the penalties of the law of Deuteronomy, if a fortified town be recovered from them while making resistance; and perplexed and harassed by the stones, and almost despairing of being rescued by the French, which they had expected long beyond the promised time. On that night[a] they entered into a treaty with

[a] The besieged sent to the Duke of Clarence in the night, desiring him to prevail on the King to grant them terms, and appoint persons to treat with them, who accordingly sent the Earl of Dorset, Lord Fitz-Hugh, and Sir Thomas Erpingham, for that purpose. They first asked a cessation of Walsyngham.

The Siege, 17th Sept.

the King, that if he would deign to defer the assault, and would refrain from harassing and oppressing them with stones, they would surrender to him the town, and themselves, and their property, if the French King, or the Dauphin, his first-born, being informed, should not raise the siege and deliver them by force of arms, within the first hour after noon on the Sunday following.[a]

Walsyngham.

arms, until the Sunday following the feast of St. Michael, and if by that time they were not succoured by the King or Dauphin, they would surrender the town; but upon the King replying, that they must surrender at discretion by the next morning, they entreated a cessation of hostilities until the following Sunday, upon the conditions they had before asked, which was agreed to, &c. *Walsyngham*, p. 437-438.

Cleopatra, C. iv.

[a] The following account of this conference is given by the writer whose narrative is preserved in the Cottonian MS. *Cleopatra*, C. iv. f. 22, and who was nearly contemporary with the period. "The Frensshmen come owte on save condyte to entrete with the Kynge for thei my no lenger well holde the towne. And thei was here askynge of owr Kynge that of the honowre of his hye Kynghode and as he was most worthi Kynge, and Prynce of all Cristen' graunte hem his grace, that thei muste sende message to the Frenssh Kynge, to wete of hym whether he wolde rescu hem or not, and but the Frenssh Kyng, wolde resku hem by ij dayes ende after that thei had spoke with the Frenssh Kynge, thei to zelde vp the towne to owre Kynge, and do with hem what he wolde, both with her body and with her gode. Owre Kyng answerde and saide, that the day that thei askyd was to shorte, and so the Kyng zaf hem day til the Sonday next suynge, that was the ferthe day after at twayne after none. And thei to plegges and ostage on the same condicion; and so was laide in ostage the Lorde of Totvyle, the Lorde Declere de Chastlayne, Benles de Blosset, Sir Benet de Lengchampe, Sir John de Malevile, Sir Charle de Toutscalen, Sir Caredes de Quossnes, Sir Jakes de Beawcomelere. These bene the names of gentilmen, marchauntes, and grete men of the toune; William de Porte, Tomasyn de Esars, Malerve, John Herrad, Estephan Esquevaut, Guillam de Bowchere, Loryn Robyne, Alyne Lygnee, Johan Brabut, Robynet Lambert, Robyn Wilkyn, Johan de Marye, Phelippy le Duc, Guilmot Guilhac, Colenet Longleys, Guilliam de Bufreve, Jaquelyn le Bochere, Colyn Gabort, Roby' Lambart, Guilem le Mason', Oliver Gilhaut, Guillam de Boys, Guilliam Lamy, Colyn le Cut, Guilleam Russell, Sampson P'ton, Thomasyn Hay, Jaquelyn de Burdoux, Guilliam Cesto, Robyn Corralle, Bertram Querr. These bethe the names of hem that were put to the kepynge of the toune by the chesynge of the Frensch men

This favorable offer being accepted, notwithstanding it displeased the covetousness of several, though only of those who purposed pillaging after the slaughter and wounds of the front ranks. Capitulation of Harfleur.

On the following day, viz. Wednesday the 18th of the said month of September, indentures of covenant were made between the Commissioners on the part of the King, and the person acting as captain aforesaid, and the more powerful of the town, and they pledged mutual oaths upon the Lord's body, which the venerable father, Benedict Bishop of Bangor[a] Chaplain of the King's retinue,[b] preceded by the whole chapel in procession in hoods, had at the King's command, brought for this purpose just under the walls, 18th Sept.

unto the forsayde Sonday, and els but thei were rescuede elles to zelde upe the kayes to the Kyng of Inglonde; the Lorde Gaucourte, the Lorde of Osbose, the Lorde of Blanvile, the Lorde of Sevale, the Lorde of Flory, the Lorde of Haquevile, the Lorde of Seme, the Lorde of Colernas de Bochervile, the Lorde of Handcote, the Lorde Charles de Toutvile, the Lorde Estuphucot, the Lorde de Larses, the Lorde Hew de Sapinos, the [*query* Lord] Russel de Seme, Matilet Hangervile, the Lord Buryan Martill, Bele Garde, Compaygne Wude de Coulers, the Lord Sturbelvile, the Lord Robyn de la Porte, Rogeryn Blosset, Sir Audot de Chalounes, Abdinet de la Brawnche."

[a] Benedict Nichols. He obtained the temporalities of the See of Bangor on the 22nd of July, 1408, and was translated to St. David's on the 15th of December, 1417. He died in 1433. *Le Neve's Fasti Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ.*

[b] This ceremony is thus described by *Des Ursins*. The Bishop of Norwich entered the town, dressed in his pontifical habits, attended by thirty-two chaplains in their surplices, amices and copes, which copes were all of silk, and of the same colour. There were also thirty-two esquires dressed alike, and before each chaplain, one of the said esquires bore a lighted torch. The Bishop administered the oath to the said hostages, that those of the town should surrender on the appointed day. The English said to the good people of Harfleur, 'do not be afraid, or suspect that we should do you harm, our Lord the King of England does not wish to ruin his country, he will not do to you as they did at Soissons; we are good christians;' and the said oaths being taken, they departed.—p. 295. Des Ursins

Capitulation of Harfleur, 18th Sept.

twenty-four hostages[a] of the more noble and substantial amongst them, having been given, and one Knight on the part of the city having been sent according to agreement, to announce these things to the French King or the Dauphin,[b] the hostile weapons on both sides, and the warlike engines were silenced, until the day and hour appointed. And on the same day, Wednesday, died in that siege, a Knight of excellent and most cherished name, Lord Michael Pole, Earl of Suffolk,[c] leaving behind him in the host, a young

Cleopatra, C. iv.

[a] "These beth the names of men of the toun of Harflew, that were laide in Ostage the xviijth day of Septembre, for the zeldynge of the towne, but zif it were rescouede by Sonday next suyng by on afternone; first, the Lorde of Totevile, the Lorde of Clere, de Chasteleyn Beunas, the Lorde Blosset, Sir Benet de Lenchampe, Sir John de Malavyle, Sir Charles de Toutscalem, Sir Carades de Quissows, Sir Jakes de Beaucomeler." *Cleopatra*, C. iv. f. 23.

Livius.

The terms of capitulation, according to *Livius* were, that they should deliver into Henry's hands the town, with thirty of the principal persons, such as the King should name, to be placed at his disposal; and that all the others, as well soldiers as inhabitants, might freely depart where they pleased, leaving behind them their goods: as security for the fulfilment of these conditions, they left twelve hostages—p. 10.

Monstrelet

[b] The beseiged sent the lord of Bacqueville with divers others, to the King of France and the Duke of Acquitane, who were at Vernon sur Seine, to announce their situation and necessities, and to entreat that assistance might be sent within three days, or he would lose the town and those who were in it; but they were informed that the King's forces had not assembled, and were not ready to give them speedy assistance, whereupon the Lord Bacqueville returned to Harfleur, which was put into the hands of the King of England, on St. Maurices' day, *i. e.* 22nd September, to the great and piteous sorrow of the inhabitants and of France, for, as is before said, it was the chief sea port of all the duchy of Normandy. *Monstrelet*, ed. 1595, p. 224, *St. Remy*, p. 83.

Laboureur

The indifference with which the application of the beseiged was treated is severely censured by *Laboureur*. They were told, he observes, to keep up their courage, and to rely on the prudence of the King, who provided for every thing in the proper time and place; but notwithstanding these "fine words," the army which had assembled from all parts of France to the number of 14,000 men were disgracefully passive to their sufferings.—p. 1004.

[c] *St. Remy*, p. 83, and *Monstrelet*, ed. 1595, p. 223[b] erroneously call him

heir of twenty-one years, distinguished amongst all the courtiers, for strength, bravery, and activity. Surrender of Harfleur.

And neither at the aforesaid hour on the following Sunday,[a] nor within the time, the French King, the Dauphin, nor any one else coming forward to raise the siege, our King, clad in gold and "caparsites," immediately ascended his royal throne, placed under a pavilion at the top of the hill, before the town, where his nobles and other principal persons, an illustrious body of men, were assembled in numbers in their best equipments; his crowned triumphal helmet being held on his right hand upon a halbert-staff, by Sir Gilbert Umfreville. The aforesaid Lord de Gaucourt came from the town into his presence, accompanied by those persons[b] who 22nd Sept.

the Earl of *Stafford*, and add that the Bishop of Norwich, and the Lords Beaumont, Morris, Brunel, and Trompyngton, also died of the flux during the siege. *Monstrelet* estimates the loss of the English by this disease at 2,000 and upwards.

[a] 22nd of September.

[b] The note to *Hardyng's Chronicle* states that Gaucourt was attended by by *thirty-four* of the noblest persons of the town. The following account is given by another contemporary Chronicler: "The xvj day of August, a litle from Harflete the Kyng landed, and the Saturday next after the Assumption of oure Lady he leide sege about Harflete and contynued the sege unto the Sonday next bifore the fest of Seint Michel upon which Sonday the towne of Harflete was delyvered to the Kyng that was the xxij day of September. But it is to wite that on Tuesday bifore that was the xvij day of September at xij of the belle wythynne nyght the Lordes that were Capteynes and governours of the towne, that is to sey the Lord Gaucourt the Lord Tutoit, and mo other Lordes senten out an haraude of armes unto the Duke of Clarence praying him at the reverence of God that he wolde sende to the Kyng bisechyng hym that he wolde of his high and gracious Lordship graunte them leve to trete with what persones that the Kyng wolde assigne to them. And the Kyng at the reverence of God and at there request assigned Therle of Dorset the Lord Fitz-Hugh and Sir Thomas of Erpyngham to here what they Julius B. i.

Surrender of Harfleur.

before had sworn to keep the articles; and surrendering to him the keys of the corporation, submitted themselves, together with the citizens, to his grace. And when the keys were thereupon received, according to royal command, by the Earl Marshal, the King promised the said

Julius, B. i.

wolde desire. And thei desired that the Kyng wold not werre upon them fro that houre at mydnyght unto the Sonday next after the fest of Seint Michel, and but it were so that thei were rescued by bataile of the Frensshe Kyng or with the Dolphynne by that day thei to yelde the towne to the Kyng, and thei to have there lives and goodes. And the Kyng sent them worde that if thei wolde delyver the towne on the morowe next after tha houre of mydnyght aforseid without any condicion he wolde accept it and on any other wise he bad them seke no trete. And yet the Frenssh Lordes praied oure Lordes to biseke the Kyng at the reverence of God and of oure Lady that he wold graunte them that same Tuesday nyght, Wednesday, Thursday, Friday, Saturday, and the Sonday, til an houre after none. And in that mean tyme the Lordes that were Capitayns of the towne to come to the Kyng with xxij Knyghts and Squires with them of the most sufficient men withyn the towne, and thei to be sworen openly afore alle the people upon Goddis body. But it so were that the Frensshe Kyng or the Dolpynne rescued them that Sondaye by the houre of none or anon after none thei to delyver the towne to the Kyng and alle there bodies and goodes to done with them whatsoever he list without eny condicion with that the Kyng wolde suffre them to [send] the Frensshe Kyng viij persones out of the towne lettyng him wite on what plite thei stond and they graunted them. And upon the Wednesday by the morowe these Lordes comen oute of the towne and xxij Knyghtes with them and than come the procession solempnely and stately with xxiiij copis of a sute before Goddis body with many worshipful Lordes Knyghtes and Squiers and other moch multitude of people fro the Kynges tent as solempnely done and as stately as any man saugh ever such a thing done before that tyme but the Kyng was not there present. And the Frensshe Lordes there made there othes upon the holy sacrament And the othes thus done the Frensshe Lordes with therre felaushipe were brought to the Kynges tentes and there thei eten in the Kinges halle but in all this time thei sawe not the Kyng. And whan thei had eten thei were departed and delyvered to certen Lordes forto in hostage unto the Sonday at the houre after none as it was accordid whan thei received. And at the houre on Sonday after none the Kyng had a tente pigght on an hille bifore the towne and there he sate in his estate roial, and al his Lordis about hym. And than came the Frensshe Lordis with xxiij and iiij with them of the most sufficient men that were wythynne the towne, and their bodies and goodes to the Kynges grace without eny condicion: and this was done the xxij day of Septembre."—*Julius*, B. i. f. 37.

Lord de Gaucourt, that although he and his associates had, in opposition to God and all justice, kept him from his town, being a noble portion of his inheritance, yet in consideration of their submission to his mercy, although it was late, they should not altogether fail in obtaining his grace, which nevertheless he said he was willing to grant upon deliberate council.[a] Surrender of Harfleur.

And then he sent him with his company and

[a] Another description of this interesting scene is preserved: "And when the Enbassatores were come fro the French Kynge on the Sonday at here owre as here accorde was, owre Kynge was in his tent, with his Lordes and with his gentelis, and sat in his estate as Ryale as ded ever eny Kynge, and as it is saide, there was never Chrystyn Kynge so Ryall, nother so lordly sat in his see as dide he. And the Kynge had asynde certayn Lordes and Knyztes to take hem ine, and to bryng hem to for the Kynge; and when the Frensshmen were come, a Knyzt in the myddys of hem browght the keyes in his hondys, and when thei come to the tentys, thei knelyd all down togederys, but there had thei no syzt of the Kynge, and then thei were broght into other tentes, and there thei knelyd down eft sonys along tyme, but syzt of our Kynge hade thei none, and there thei were take up and broght into an inner tente, and there thei knelyd longe tyme, and zit sey not owr Kynge; and than thei were este toke up and broght there owr Kynge was, and there thei knelyd long tyme, and then oure Kynge wolde note rewarde hem with non eye til thei hade longe kneyld, and then the Kyng zaf hem a rewarde with his loke, and made a continawnce to the Erle of Dorzete, that schold take of hem the keyes, and so he dede, and there were the Frenssh men taken up and mad chere; and thus hade owre Kynge the town delivered, and made thereof the Erle of Dorzet, Captayn." *Cleopatra*, C. iv. f. 24. The account of the ceremony given by *Titus Livius*, differs a little from that of the other writers. He says that on the day on which the town was surrendered, a royal pavilion of silk was erected in the fields, from which a passage was formed of armed Englishmen to the town, through which Sir Lionel Braquemont, a noble Knight and governor of Harfleur, came to the King, and kneeling before him, said, most 'victorious Prince, behold, here are the keys of this town, which by treaty and by conquest I yield unto you, myself, and my company.' Then at the King's command were brought unto him, the Lord Stoteville, and the Lord Gaucourt, and others, to the number of thirty persons, as had been agreed on, but all the others, as well soldiers as inhabitants, were suffered to go away freely, unarmed. p. 11. Cleopatra, C. iv. Livius.

At Harfleur. the hostages, who were present, and had been led into his tent, in all sixty-six, and entertained them magnificently enough, at the approaching supper, with what dainties he had;[a] after supper dividing and committing them to the care of certain of his confidants. But soon after the keys were given and surrendered, and then the banners of St. George and the King were fixed upon the gates of the town; and the rest of the adversaries having been taken, the King promoted his illustrious uncle, the Lord Thomas Beaufort, Earl of Dorset, to be keeper and captain of the town, having deliverd to him the keys. On the mor-
23rd Sept. row[b] he entered with his friends to view the town, the people, and its contents;[c] and he caused the

Walsyngham. [a] On the morrow the hostages, with twenty-two Knights, and Esquires, and principal citizens, came to the camp in solemn procession, having the host carried before them; and after having taken their promised oath, they were entertained in the King's tent, where they dined, the King not being present: after dinner they were separated and committed to the charge of several persons, who were strictly ordered to treat them honorably. *Walsyngham*, p. 438.

Ursins. [b] Monday, 23rd September. *Des Ursins* states, that on the Monday, one of the King's brothers entered Harfleur in great pomp, and caused all those who would not swear fealty to be sent to England. He went from house to house, mounted on a small horse, commanding that every thing should be delivered up to him, upon pain of being hung. He asked nothing of any man who was not found armed; and allowed all men of the church, and all women, to be clad in their best apparel, and to carry with them what they pleased without making a bundle; and it was forbidden to search the priests, or the bosoms or the heads of the women. More than 1500 women thus left, and when they were without the town, near to St. Aubin, they brought them bread, wine, and cheese, and wished them to drink. The English escorted them as far as Lislebourne, where the Marshal Boucicault provided for them, and the next day sent them to Rouen, by water, p. 296.

St. Remy. [c] When Henry came to the gates of Harfleur, he dismounted from his horse, and took off his shoes and stockings, and went barefooted to the church of St. Martin, the parish church of the town, where he solemnly gave thanks to God for his success. After which he made prisoners of all the

women, with the poor, the children and infants, to be separated from those who had sworn fealty to him, and from others who were thought proper to be kept as prisoners to be redeemed.[a] On

At Harfleur.

armed men within it, and soon afterwards took a list in writing of their names, and then allowed them to go on their parole, that they should surrender themselves on St. Martin's day, November 10th, at Calais. Several citizens were made prisoners, who redeemed themselves by great ransoms, and were then sent out of the town, together with a great many women and children, to each of whom were given five sols, and part of their clothes, and all the priests and people belonging to the church. It was lamentable to hear the grief and sorrow of the inhabitants on quitting their town and property. Two very strong towers near the sea held out for two days after the town had surrendered, and then yielded on the same terms as the others. *St. Remy*, p. 84, *Monstrelet*, Ed. 1595, p. 226.

St. Remy.

[a] The account of the siege of Harfleur by an anonymous chronicler, who has been before cited, is entitled to attention, from his detailing some facts not noticed by any of his contemporaries, and from the allusion to the story of the tennis balls. "And so went hym forth to Hareflete and besieged the toune all aboute, by londe and eke by water, and sent to the Capiteyne of the toune, and charged hym for to delyver the toune. And the Capitayne said that he none delivered hym, ne none he wold to hym yeld, but bad hym done his best. And thanne oure Kyng laid his ordinaunce un to the toune, that is for to say Gonnes, Engynes, and Tappgetes,[a] and shetten, and cast to the walles, and eke unto the toune, and cast doune both tours and toune, and laid hem unto the ground. And there he plaied at tenys with his hard gonne stonnes. And they that were within the toune whan they shuld play, ther song was 'Welle away and allas that ever any suche tenys ballis were made,' and cursed all tho that werre beganne, and the tyme that ever they were borne. And on the morow the Kyng did crie at every gate of the toune, that every man shuld be redy on the morow erly, to make assaute unto the toune. And Willyam Bouchire, and Iohn Graunte, with xij other worthy Burgeis, comen to the Kyng, and besought hym of his riall Princehode and powre, to withdrawe his malice and distruccion that he dyd un to hem, and besought hym of viij daies respite and trewes yf any rescue myght come un to heym, and elles to yelde up the toune unto hym wyth all hir goodes. And the Kyng sent forth the capytayn, and kepte the remanent styll with hym. And the Lorde Gaucorte, that was capitayne of the toune, went forth to Rone, in all hast un to the Dolphyn for helpe and socour. But there was none ne no man of rescue, for the Dolpyne wold not abyde. And thus this capitayne come ayne un to the Kyng, and yelde up the toune, and delyvered hym the

Claudius, A. viii.

[a] This is a corruption of Trepget, a contraction of Trebuchet, called also Trebock, and Trabuchs. It was a machine invented by the French, and named Trois bouches, from discharging three stones from three mouths or boxes at the same time. For further information respecting it see the Glossary "to the Critical Inquiry into Ancient Armour."

Tuesday, 24th Sept.

the day following[a] he dismissed them from the town, to the interior parts of France, to go where they pleased, in number about two thousand, and amidst much lamentations, wretched-

Claudius A. viii.

keies; and than he called his uncle, the Erle of Dorsett, and made hym capitayne of the toune of Harflete, and delyveryd the caies, and bad hym gonne to put oute alle the Frenssh peple, both men and wemen and children, and stuffyd this toune of Hareflete with Englissh men. And than the Kyng sent in to Englond, and did crie in every goode toune of Englond, that what crafty man wolde come thedyr and inhabite hym there in that towne, he shulde have house and housholde to hym and to his heires for evermore. And so went many diverse merchauntes and crafty men, and inhabited hem there to strengthe the toune, and wer welcome." *Claudius*, A. viii. f. 2, 3.

Hardyng.

To this account, the narrative of Hardyng is an acceptable addition: from his calling the Earl of Dorset *Duke of Exeter*, it is certain that it was not written until above a year after the period he describes. "The ccxiii Chapiter. Howe the Kyng went into Normandy, and sieged Hareflete, and gate it with greate peyn and losse of menne; but who maye cast of rennyng houndis, and many racches, but he must lese some of theim.

The Kyng held furth by sea to Normandy,
With all his hoste at Kydcaus landed then
And laied a siege to Hareflete myghtely
On every side by land and water wanne,
With bulwerkes stoute and bastell he began,
In whiche he putte Therle of Huntyngton,
Therle of Kent also of greate renoune.

Whiche Erles two, with other to theim assigned
Cornwaile and Gray, Steward also, and Porter,
Full greate assautes made eche daye and repugned,
Whiles at last thei bette the towne toures their,
And what the Kyng with fagottes that there were;
And his connyng werching under the wall,
With his gunnes castyng thei made the toure to fall:

And their bulwerke brent with shot of wildfyre,
At whiche place then therles twoo up sette
Their baners bothe without any hyre;
The Kyng ther with his gonnes the walles bette,
The Duke did so of Clarence without lette,
On the ferreside, wher as he then laye,
Therle Mountague did well ther alwaye.

The Lord Gawcort, that then was [their capitain]
Of Hareflete, tho with other of the toune,
Offred then the toune to the Kyng full fain,
And he with other [to] stand at the Kynges direccion:
Then made he there his uncle of greate renoune,
Capitain of it, Duke of Excester than,
And homeward went through Fraunce like a man.

p. 375.

[a] Tuesday, 24th September.

ness, and tears, for the loss of their accustomed, though unlawful habitation; and he caused them to be conducted with an armed force beyond the limits of the army, lest they should be molested on their way by our free-booters, who indulge in pillage more than piety, and regard not the tears of the harmless, so that they have plunder. Then by the true judgment of God, they were proved to be sojourners, where they thought themselves inhabitants. Tuesday, 24th Sept.

On the following Friday,[a] the King permitted the aforesaid Lord de Gaucourt to depart, with several of the prisoners of the town, besides citizens, sixty Knights, and more than two hundred other gentry, nearly all the nobility from that part of Normandy, as far as the borders of Picardy. But he dismissed them with this object in view, that perhaps by their exertions and means the desired peace might be more quickly concluded. It was secured, however, under indentures and covenants, by oaths and other solemnities, that they should return and surrender themselves as faithful prisoners, at Calais, on the feast of St. Martin in the winter,[b] to the Lord the King himself, or to his lieutenant or special deputy.[c] Certain other conditions were affixed, which together with other conventions about the surrender of Harfleur, reduced into authentic 27th Sept.

[a] September 27th. [b] November 10th.

[c] De Gaucourt says in his *Narrative*, that this indulgence was granted them because the greater part of them were extremely sick. See the APPENDIX.

Henry challenges the Dauphin.

writings, you will find in the book of the Records.[a] And our King, that he might search out and find every means which seemed to tend to the preservation of both his own and his adversary's people, sent a herald by name Guyenne, with the aforesaid Lord de Gaucourt to the first born of his adversary, the Dauphin, not chosing to send to the adversary himself, because his mind was afflicted with his accustomed malady, to intimate to him that he had been expecting, and still should expect him, at his town of Harfleur, during the eight days then following, requesting him to signify by his answer within that time, whether he was yet grieved at the loss of human blood, and would cause his right to be allowed him without farther obstinacy, and come to peace with him; or at least sparing the multitude that controversy, (which was long ago excited, then intermitted, and now raised up afresh, but still

Ursins. [a] Of the surrender of Harfleur, *Des Ursins*, p. 294 says, there were many accounts, some of which he gives: among others, that it was taken by assault, and that whilst one part of the English army were storming it, another division obtained entrance by a gate, which by evil disposed persons was opened to them; that such of the inhabitants as were ill, were allowed to depart upon their parole, but that the greater part of them died as soon as they were outside the walls. One of his statements agrees very nearly with that in the text; but it would be useless to repeat vague stories which

Livius. he himself confesses were mere reports. According to *Livius*, after the conquest of the town, the King commanded all the booty found within it to be divided amongst his army, to every man according to his degree and merit, together with the horses, of which there were a great number. *Laboureur* also notices the discrepancy in the accounts of the manner in which Harfleur was taken, p. 1004; but the statement of the Lord De Gaucourt proves that it was surrendered to Henry, as he says "It happened that from the want of provisions and the mortality which prevailed in the town, we were compelled to surrender the said town, and were made prisoners to the King of England."—See the APPENDIX.

undecided,) about the right and dominion of the kingdom, and having made certain legal securities and conditions, to be established by the council of both kingdoms, without any other spilling of brotherly blood, they should come to a point between themselves, person to person, in single combat.[a] But eight days having elapsed without the return of the said herald, or any other messenger, the King in the mean time made arrangements for the repairing and custody of the said town, and having placed under the captain certain Barons and Knights, skilful in affairs of war, with three hundred lances and nine hundred archers on pay, he proposed to pursue the march which he had before determined on, through the Dukedom of Normandy, towards his town of Calais, which was said to be more than a hundred English miles distant from that place. But since our nobles and other men had been carried off in far greater numbers by the bloody flux, than by the sword, and many of the remaining people had been so dreadfully afflicted and disabled by it, as not to be able to proceed, he caused the sick to be separated from the healthy, and permitted them to retire to England;[b] their number

Harfleur garrisoned

[a] Henry's challenge to the Dauphin to decide their quarrel by single combat, is preserved in the *Fœdera*, of which a translation is given in the APPENDIX.

[b] *Walsyngham* says, that the Duke of Clarence, John Earl Marshal, John Earl of Arundel, the Earl of March, who was ill of the flux, and the Earl of Warwick, then returned to England; and *St. Remy*, p. 84, adds, that the French prisoners were sent at the same time, including the Lords d'Estouteville and de Gaucort; who with the plunder found in Harfleur, were embarked on board the ship which brought Henry to France, together with

St. Remy.

State of the English Army.

being about five thousand, besides those who had died, and those who had been appointed for the custody of the town, and those who had inhumanly forsaken, or rather deserted their King before, and returned by stealth into England: so that of the residue of the army, there remained fit for drawing the sword or for battle, not above nine hundred lances, and five thousand archers.[a] And although the King was dissuaded by the greater part of his council from his design, as full of perils, if he should thus advance with his army which was daily decreasing, amidst the multitude of the French who were continually increasing; and who very likely might hem them in on every side, as sheep in pens: yet our King, relying upon the divine grace, and the righteousness of his cause, piously considering that victory consists not in multitudes, but belongs to Him who can shut up many in the hand of a few, and who bestows victory upon whom he will, whether

a number of sick people, including the Duke of Clarence, and the Earl of Arundel. He likewise states, that Henry's loss during the siege amounted to five hundred Knights and Esquires, besides those who died of disease.

Monstrelet

According to *Monstrelet*, great part of the prisoners, booty, and engines were sent to England by sea, together wtth the Duke of Clarence and the Earl of Warwick, but he does not mention Gaucourt, or either of the other persons, Ed. 1595, p. 226. That Gaucourt was not then sent to England is certain, from the *Narrative* of his dispute with Estouteville, which will be found in the APPENDIX.

[a] *Monstrelet*, Ed. 1595, p. 226, says, that 500 men-at-arms, and 1000 archers, were left to garrison Harfleur, of which Sir John Blount was captain; and that Henry's army when he left Harfluer, consisted of 2000 men-at-arms, and 13,000 archers, with a great number of other persons: whilst the anonymous chronicler in the Harleian MS. 565, states that the King "toke his way from Harfluer, towards his towne of Caleys, with the noumbre of viij M fytyngmen." All French writers, as will be noticed hereafter, excepting *St. Remy*, rate the English forces at a much greater number.

by many or by few, God granting the general-ship as it is believed,[a] determined on that march, a journey of eight days.[b] And commanding the army to furnish themselves with victuals for eight days, on the Tuesday before the feast of Saint Denys, on the nones of October,[c] he commenced his march, constant and intrepid, notwithstanding the smallness of his army, which however was disposed skilfully enough in three battalions, leaving the town of Monstredevilliers distant about two miles from Harfleur, at half a mile on his right.[d] He ordered, amongst other pious and

Henry resolves to march to Calais.

8th Oct.

[a] "Prebente deo ducatum ut creditur."

[b] The King appointed his uncle Thomas, Earl of Dorset, captain of the town, with *two thousand* soldiers to defend it. He then held a council to deliberate on their future proceedings, when it was determined, that as winter was approaching, they should return to England; but it was disputed whether they should return by sea, or pass through the enemy's country to Calais. "The greater part of the council, considering the great loss of men which they had experienced by the flux; that many were still ill of the same disease; that they had left a great part of their forces for the defence of Harfleur, besides the number of noble persons (amongst whom was the Duke of Clarence) who had returned into England; and especially, remembering the infinite multitude of the enemy's army collected to oppose them, advised the King to return by sea. But Henry replied to these arguments, "I am possessed with a very great desire of seeing my territories and the places which ought to be my inheritance. Although they should enlist the greatest armies, my trust is in God, that they shall not hurt my army nor me. Nor shall I permit those who are inflated by pride to enjoy, against God and justice, what by right belongs to us. If I should thus depart, they would reproach me that I suddenly fled, and lost our right from fear. My resolution is therefore, to undergo every peril rather than they shall be able to breathe the slightest reproach against your King. We will go, if it pleases God, without harm or danger, and if they disturb our journey, we shall come off with victory, triumph, and very great fame." *Titus Livius*, p. 12. Livius.

[c] The *nones* of October fell on the 7th of that month, but if Henry left Harfleur on the Tuesday before the feast of St. Dennis, it must have been on the *eighth*.

[d] "Linquens villam de Monstredevilliers distantem circiter duo miliaria ab Harfleu per dimidium miliare a dextris suis." But in the Note

March towards Calais. honorable regulations, that no one, under pain of death, should burn, lay waste, or take any thing, excepting victuals and necessaries for the march, and the rebels who might by chance be found making resistance.[a] And proceeding

Near Arques, 11th October. on the march, we came on the following Friday,[b] before the town of Archus, which had a beautiful river descending to the haven of Dieppe, about three miles on our left on the sea-shore, and also narrow bridges and a castle; within the range and shot of which was our passage. The King made his appearance in the battalions and the wings, and took up a position in sight of the castle; but the garrison shot stones at us from their guns, to keep us off and prevent our approaching; the stones, however, by the will of God, hurt no one. And after a little, the King sent to demand of the governor a free passage;

Hardyng. to *Hardyng's* Chronicle, the King is stated to have passed *half a mile to the right of that town*, and which must have been the fact, "Et die martis, primo die Octobris, cum exercitu suo non excedente nongentis lancans et quimque milia sagittarios, removit de Harflete, *dimittendo villam de Mustredevillers per dimidium miliare à dextris*." Near Monstredevilliers they appear to have met with some opposition, as Geffrey Blake was killed before that town; and likewise at Fescamp, which lies between Monstrevillers and Arques, for William Bramshulf was taken at Fescamp. *See* List of the Knights, Men-at-Arms, &c. in the expedition towards the end of the volume.

Elmham. [a] When Henry determined upon proceeding by land, he ordered that the baggage should be carried on horseback, and left the carriages behind, the better to expedite his march. His army was formed into three battalions, with two wings in the usual manner. The enemy having discovered by which road he would proceed, went before him, and stript the country of victuals, as much as they possibly could. The army proceeded regularly, without too much haste, and were spontaneously offered refreshments at certain fortified places on their route. *Elmham*, p. 51, 52.

[b] October 11th. Arques is a small town on the river Arques, about four miles S.S.E. from Dieppe.

who, after a treaty concluded upon, and the delivery of hostages, gave the King free passage and a certain quantity of bread and wine for the refreshment of the army, in order to buy off the burning of their town, and the neighbouring parts. We therefore passed that district through the middle of the town, which at the entrance we found fortified with thick trees thrown across the way, and other impediments. But the next day,[a] we passed the fortified and strong town of Ewe, leaving it half a mile on the left. Into this town part of the French army which had assembled against us, had entered, and now made a sally upon us; but they were quickly put to flight, and driven hastily back to the town for protection, not without slaughter and wounds; but some of ours did not return free from blows.[b] On the following night the inhabitants of the town, having before held a parley and given hostages, redeemed the villages in which we passed the night from burning, by giving a certain

Near Ewe, 12th Oct.

[a] *i.e.* Saturday, 12th October. Eu is a sea-port town on the river Brele, 15 miles N. E. of Dieppe.

[b] At this encounter, where, according to *Livius*, p. 13, the Frenchmen sallied upon them in great numbers, and with great noise and clamour, as the usage is among them, was slain a most valiant man-at-arms, of the French forces, named Lancelot Pierres, who charged upon an Englishman with his lance, but was pierced between the plates of his armour, and mortally wounded in the belly, but before he died he killed the Englishman. The death of the said Lancelot was, by the Conte d'Eu, and many other Frenchmen much lamented. *Monstrelet*, Ed. 1595, p. 226. *St. Remy*, p. 85, and *Pierre de Fenin*, p. 459, also say that they were both slain, to the great regret of all who knew them. The latter adds, that Pierres was a Bourbonnaise, p. 459. *Elmham* observes, that the French were at length driven into Ewe "with the speed of lightning," but that some English were cruelly wounded by missiles shot from the town.—p. 52.

Livius.

Elmham.

Expectation of a Battle.

quantity of bread and wine for the refreshment of the army. In the mean time it was rumoured in the army by certain prisoners, that the French had prepared themselves in a body to engage us; and it was asserted that in the opinion of some, this was to take place on the Sunday or Monday following, whilst we were crossing the river Somme. Yet of the fighting of the battle various were the opinions amongst us; for some firmly asserted, that considering the civil discord and deadly hatred subsisting between the French Princes and the Duke of Burgundy, the French would not draw themselves out from the interior parts of the country and their strong holds, lest while thus drawing themselves out, the forces of the Duke of Burgundy should either follow them, or against their will, usurp the possession of their estates. But it was affirmed on the contrary by some, that the French, so renowned as they had formerly been for valour and military skill, could not if they still had in them any heart or sensibility bear the stain of so great a disgrace, which would be spoken of them through the world to their everlasting reproach, that they had grown so stupid and slothful, and had so much degenerated from their ancient nobility, that they durst not, yea were afraid to put forth military strength against the King of England, who was coming into their country, after a great delay in besieging and taking a town, and at length, with so small a retinue, and so diminished an army, lay-

ing waste the country at so great a distance from thence.[a]

Now after these occurrences, we came on the morrow, Sunday,[b] near the town of Abbeville, hoping on the following day to cross the Somme: but it was suddenly told us by our scouts and advanced guard of horse, that the bridges with the causeways were broken down, and that a great part of the French army was on the opposite side of the bank, to pre- Near Abbeville, 13th Oct.

[a] The opinions of the different members of the French council as to the expediency of attacking the English army, are very minutely given by *Des Ursins*. *Ursins*, who states as a report of the time, that Henry was so much pressed, that he even offered to yield Harfleur into the King of France's hands, to give up his prisoners without ransom, or to make a final peace, and to give hostages to fulfil his promises, if he were allowed to pass freely to Calais. When the council had resolved that the English army should be attacked, it was ordered that some horsemen, namely, Messire Gauluet, Lord of Ferté, Hubert, in Soulongne, Messire Clignet de Brebant, and Messire Louis du Bois-bourdon, all famous for valour, and who had long borne arms, should attack the English archers to break their ranks. Nobles arrived from all parts; but when the King of England perceived that he was to be fought, he spoke well and proudly to his Princes, Knights, Esquires, and soldiers, and animated them to defend themselves ably, by inspiring them with courage—pp. 311-312.

In p. 314. From another account by *Des Ursins*, it appears that Henry's army, when he invaded France, amounted to 4000 men-at-arms, 4000 *gros valets*, armed with helmets *bervyeres*, or beavers, habergeons, great corslets, and large hatchets, and thirty thousand archers, each of whom had a hatchet, a sword, and a dagger; that in the rear guard of the French were the Duke de Bar, the Count of Nevers, the Count of Charolois, and Messire Ferry, brother of the Duke of Lorraine; in the wings the Count of Richemont, and Messire Tanneguy, Provost of Paris; and with those mounted to break the English battalions, were the Admiral and the Seneschal of Hainault. With all this preparation, he says, nothing was done, for the Duke of Brittany remained at Amiens, and the other Lords went beyond it towards St. Paul, and on the other side. On Sunday, the 20th of October, they signified to the English, that they would give them battle on the Saturday following, at which the King of England was much rejoiced, and gave the herald who brought him the intelligence two hundred crowns and a robe.

[b] 13 October. On this day *Monstrelet* says Henry lodged at Bailleul en Vimeu.—p. 226.

vent our crossing.[a] We therefore directed our course along the side of the river, with no other expectation than that we must go quite to the upper parts of France, and to the head of the river, which was said to be distant upwards of sixty miles from that place, when it was reported that a multitude of the French were preparing to fight us, with every sort of warlike ordnance and stratagem, and engines and other exquisite contrivances, and that they were unwilling to suffer us

St. Remy.

[a] "Henry intended to cross the Somme at Blanche-Tache, where his ancestor Edward the Third passed when he gained the battle of Cressy, to take the direct road to Calais, but when he came within about two leagues of that place, the people of his advanced guard took a gentlemen, a native of Gascony, servant to Messire Charles de Labreth, then Constable of France. But of this gentleman I know not what I ought to say, on account of the sad and melancholy event which happened in consequence, for if he had not been then taken, the King of England would have crossed at Blanche-Tache without any obstruction, and thus he and his army would have gone freely to Calais, and prevented that unhappy circumstance to the French, which was the cause of the Battle of Agincourt. And now to speak of the said gentleman, whom many Frenchmen have called a devil, and not a man, true it is that when he was taken he was brought before the commander of the advanced guard, and questioned from whence he came, of what country he was, and whom he served; to which he replied, that he was a native of Gascony, and that he was come from the town of Abbeville, where he left his master the Constable of France. After many other questions, he was asked if the passage of Blanche-Tache was not guarded? He asserted that it was, and that many great Lords were there, with six thousand good fighting men, and to assure them of the truth of it, he pledged his head. In consequence of this information he was brought before the King of England, when he was again interrogated, and the battalions were commanded to halt. After the King had heard what he had to say, he summoned a council and deliberated upon the subject, which lasted full two hours, when it was at length determined that the King should take another route, because he believed that the Gascogne had spoken the truth. It is presumed that the Gascogne asserted what he had done, from a wish that the battle should take place, as at that time the French were not assembled, nor were they so for eight days afterwards. And to relate how the King of England abandoned the passage of Blanche-Tache, true it is that he proceeded higher up the river Somme, expecting to find a passage there.—*St. Remy*, p. 85.

to cross over the river first, at any intervening place. Sad therefore at the rumours of the battle,[a] and grieving at our being impeded from crossing, we withdrew for another day as far as another crossing over the river. But there also the bridges and causeways were broken up, and the French shewed themselves on the other side with great haughtiness, and put themselves in battle array, just as if they were prepared to fight with us: but access to either side was prevented by the rivers having on both sides a broad marsh, so that none of us, even if he had sworn, could bring injury to the other. We then expected nothing else, but that after having finished our eight days' provisions and consumed our victuals, artfully proceeding and laying waste the country before us, they would strike us with famine; and at the head of the said river, should God not provide against it,

Condition of the English army.

[a] The following translation of an extract from a letter from Sir William Bardolf, Lieutenant of Calais, to the Duke of Bedford, Regent of England, dated at Calais on the 7th of October, 1415, and printed in the *Fœdera*, vol. ix. p. 314, is peculiarly interesting, as it contains the information which Bardolf had obtained of the situation of Henry, and of the extent of the forces brought against him; and judging from the accuracy of his calculation when the battle would take place, the other statements may perhaps be depended upon. Bardolf.

"Also, most high and powerful Prince, and my most honoured and gracious Lord, of the news of these parts, may it please your Lordship to know, that by the arrival of divers good friends, repairing to this town and marches, as well from France as from Flanders, it is reported to me, that without doubt, the King our Lord will be fought by his adversaries within fifteen days from this time at the latest; and it is said that the Duke of Loraine, amongst others, has already assembled fifty thousand men, and that when they are all assembled there will not be less than one hundred thousand, or more. And they say also positively, that a celebrated Knight, attended by five hundred lances, has orders to remain on the frontiers, under the command of the Lord of Biesville, to defend the marches for the enemy."

Condition of the English army,

would, with their innumerable multitude and all terrible engines and able contrivances, overthrow us who were so very few, and wearied with much fatigue, and weak from want of victuals. I who write, and many of the rest of the people looked bitterly up to heaven, unto the clemency of the celestial regard; and we besought the glorious Virgin and the blessed George, under whose protection the most invincible crown of England had flourished of old, for mediation between God and our people; that the Supreme Judge, who beholdeth all things, might in mercy spare the desolation of all England, at the expense of our blood; and that he might, of his unbounded justice, rescue from the swords of the French, to the honor and glory of his name, and lead our King and us to Calais with triumph, whose object has been peace not war.[a] Without other hopes, we pursued our

Pass Amiens, 14th Oct.

march towards the head of the river, leaving on the next day, Monday, the town of Amiens, about one league on the left; and on the following day, Tuesday, we came to a village in a district

At Boves, 15th Oct.

of the Duke of Burgundy's, by name Bowys,[b]

[a] Like the English, the French had recourse to Heaven for assistance, for *Laboureur* relates, that numerous processions were ordered, and a great number of solemn masses sung for the success of the King's expedition. The churches were filled with supplicants, and the clergy of Paris, among others, in a body with the university and many prelates, dressed in their pontifical habits, the better to inflame the zeal of an infinite multitude who followed them, went from church to church with tapers in their hands, to invoke the protection of God, and to return thanks to him for the good news they had received, of the disorder and misery which wasted the English army, already so abandoned to the mercy of the French.—p. 1007.

Laboureur

[b] Boves, a small village about four miles S.E. of Amiens, by which a branch of the Somme passes. *St. Remy* says, Henry marched so far, that he

having a river, bridges, and a castle, under which we had to pass, exposed to the shot of the enemy. But having held a parley with the garrison, upon their giving hostages, we had the village for our night's rest, well filled with wine, to the great refreshment of the army; and to secure the town and vineyards from being burnt, a free passage was granted us, with a provision of bread from the castle. And when, on Thursday, we came into the plain just by the walled

At Boves, 15th Oct.

17th Oct.

found himself near to Amiens, and afterwards took his way to Boves, where he lodged, in which village they had an abundance of vines where there was plenty of wine in open casks, and the English went there to fetch some wine, at which the King was extremely displeased, and forbad them. He was asked why he forbad them, and allowed the inferior persons [petits compaignons] to fill their bottles? to which he replied, that he was not dissatisfied with the bottles, but that the greater part made bottles of their bellies, and therefore he feared they would become disorderly. That village is situated upon rivers, and upon a small rock is a fine fortress, which belonged to the Count of Vaudemont. The King of England and all his host were in great want of bread, and assessed the village at eight baskets, each carried by two men, which were presented to the King by the captain of the said fortress. The King of England had two gentlemen of his army very ill, whom he delivered to the said captain, and was to pay for their ransom a horse for each. From Boves, the King with his army went to Neele in Vermandois, and when the King passed the said town of Neele, they had their walls covered with hangings, [couvertures] chiefly of scarlet. Then the King proceeded along the banks of the river to find a passage; and there were at Abbeville Messire Charles de Labreth, Constable of France, with many other celebrated Knights and soldiers, who from day to day receiving information of the route which the King of England had taken, left the said town and went to Corby, and from thence to Peronne, having their people always near enough to them, to endeavour to guard all the passages.—p. 85-86. *Laboureur* relates, that the English hastened towards the Somme, which they expected to pass over a wooden bridge, but they found it broken, when despair made them set fire to the suburbs of the towns and villages, which they laid waste in waiting until the workmen, whom they had sent to work on the bridge, rebuilt it with trees from the neighbouring forests; in the mean time the garrison of Calais, which knew nothing of this impediment, sent 300 of their best men-at-arms to meet the King, who were met and routed by the inhabitants of Picardy, when several were killed, and a great number made prisoners.—p. 1007.

St. Remy.

Laboureur

Attacked near Corby 17th Oct.

town of Corby on our left, part of the French army, which had also assembled there sallied out upon us; but we quickly forced them to fly, having slain some of them, and taken two armed men.[a] There was brought to the King in that

Holling-shed.

[a] Although it has been the plan of this work to notice *contemporary* authorities alone, the following extract from *Hollingshed* can scarcely be deemed a deviation from it, as it presents a document written at the period, which is intimately connected with the rencontre between Henry's army, and the French at Corby. It does not appear from whence Hollingshed derived the particulars with which he has introduced the grant alluded to, for no contemporary writer, to which the author has had access, mentions the circumstance. In the margin, Hollingshed states that John Bromley, "Came of a younger brother in the lineage of the Right Honorable the Lord Chancellor, that now is, 1585," and it was probably to pay a compliment to that personage that it was introduced. A copy of the deed is given in the Herald's Visitations of Shropshire; and by Collins in his account of the Family of Bromley, Peerage, ed. 1779, vol. vii. p. 312, who adds, that by letters patent, 4 Hen. V. the standard of Guyenne, "Gules, a lion passant gardant, Or," was added to the crest of this John Bromley, who it seems was a groom of the King's chamber, for his services on the occasion; but no reference to that patent appears in the printed calendar of the Patent Rolls.

"At Corby, Sir Hugh Stafford, Knight, Lord Bourchier, chieftain of a wing to the King, under his standard of Guien, received the enemy's charge, when the force and slaughter grew great both on the one side and the other by the French, in especial at first right fiercely pursued, in so much that with an hardy charge upon our men, they had both beat down the standard, and also from us quite won it away, to their high encouragement, and our incredible despite and dismay; whereas one John Bromley of Bromley, in Staffordshire, Esquire, a near kinsman unto the Lord Bourchier, was even straight so pierced at heart, as he could not contain him, but by and bye ran eagerly upon the French, and with his soldiers (in whom wrath and teene had already inflamed fury and desire of revenge,) did so fiercely set upon them, that they were not only beaten back, but also forced to abandon the place. At this push, the captain cutting through the thickest, strake down the champion that bare the standard, and so gloriously recovered it again, and after during the fight, (where as many of the French lost their lives,) courageously over his soldiers advanced it himself."—"The singular prowess of this captain," Hollingshed adds, "the noble man highly regarding in an ample testimony thereof, and upon his own honorable consideration by a fair ancient deed yet extant at these days, did give him reward of £40 annuity for his life. The monument so plainly declaring the truth of the matter, with the manner and dignity of the feat as it was done,

plain a certain English robber, who, contrary to the laws of God and the royal proclamation,[a] had stolen from a church a pix of copper-gilt, found in his sleeve, which he happened to mistake for gold, in which the Lord's body was kept; and in the next village where we passed the night, by decree of the King, punishing in the creature the

A robber apprehended.

hath been thought very meet, for the story in hand here now to place it as followeth: "Hoc præsens scriptum testatur, quòd nos Hugo de Stafford, dominus le Bourgchier concessimus, et per presentes confirmavimus prædilecto consanguineo nostro Johanni Bromley de Bromley, Armigero, pro suo magno auxilio nobis impenso in oppugnatione contra Franços prope le Corbie; et præcipuè pro suo laudabili servitio in recuperatione et supportatione vexilli domini Regis a Guien sub nostra conductione, unam annuitatem sive annualem redditum quadraginta librarum legalis moneta annuatim percipiendum, durante tota vita naturali predicti Johannis de Bromley, de et in omnibus manerijs terris, et tenementis nostris, cum pertinentibus in comitatu Stafford et Warwik ad festa Penthecostes et sancti Martini in hyeme æquis portionibus. Et si contingat prædictam annuitatem sive annualem redditum quadraginta librarum, a rètro fore in parte vel in toto, ad aliquod festum quo solvi debeat, tunc bene licebit prædicto Johanni et assignatis suis in prædictis manerijs, ac in omnibus alijs terris et tenementis cum suis pertinentibus præscriptis, distringere, et districtiones effugare et retinere, quousque de prædicta annuitate simul cum arreragijs, si quæ fuerint, plenariè sibi fuerit satisfactum et persolutum. Et ut hæc nostra concessio, et scripti hujus confirmatio (durante tota vita prædicti Johannis de Bromley ut præfertur,) rata et stabilis permaneat, hoc scriptum impressione sigilli armorum meorum roboravi. Hijs testibus, Johanne de Holland, Richardo le Grevyll, Richardo de Horwood, Thoma le Forestar, et alijs. Datum apud Madeley decimo die mensis Martij anno regni regis Henrici quinti post conquestum quarto, [10 March, 1417.] Sealed with a shield, charged with a chrevron, and a mullett for difference. His crest, a swan's head couped between two wings displayed, all out of a crown; supported by two greyhounds, inscribed, 'Signa Hugonis de Stafford Militis.'"

Holling-shed.

The rencontre near Corby appears from *Elmham's* florid description, to Elmham. have been very severe; he says, "shield encountered with shield, lance with lance, steed with steed, Knight with Knight, and the mighty with the noble, with great impetuosity in a long contest, the horses and their riders being overthrown, but at length, by the overwhelming valour of the English, the French fled into their town:" but not a word occurs about the standard of Guyenne.

[a] See the STATUTES OF HENRY V.'s ARMY in the APPENDIX, No. viii.

A robber executed.

injury done to the Creator, as Phineas did unto Zambri,[a] he was put to death on the gallows.[b]

The English expect to be attacked.

In the mean time a report was circulated through the army, upon the information of certain prisoners, that the enemy had appointed many

[a] See Numbers xxv. 7, 8, 14.

Livius. [b] Upon being informed of the robbery, *Livius* relates, that Henry commanded his host to halt until the sacrilege was expiated. He first caused the pyx to be restored to the church, and the offender was then led, bound as a thief, through the army, and afterwards hung upon a tree, that every man might behold him. As soon as he was executed, the army was commanded

Elmham. to proceed. *Elmham*, p. 53, adds, that he was hung upon a tree close by the church which had been robbed. Although no one expects that Shakespeare should adhere very minutely to historical facts, still in this instance, and in another which will be noticed, he has so closely done so that it is impossible to resist inviting the reader's attention to the circumstance:

Pistol. Fortune is Bardolph's foe, and frowns on him,
For he hath stol'n a *pix*, and hanged must 'a be,
A damned death!
Let gallows gape for dog, let man go free,
And let not hemp his wind-pipe suffocate:
But Exeter hath given the doom of death,
For *pix* of little price.
Therefore, go speak, the Duke will hear thy voice;
And let not Bardolph's vital thread be cut
With edge of penny cord, and vile reproach:
Speak, captain, for his life, and I will thee requite.

K. Henry V. Act. iii. Scene 6.

And again,

K. Henry. What men have you lost, Fluellen?

Fluellen. The perdition of th'athversary hath been very great, very reasonable great: marry, for my part, I think the Duke hath lost never a man, but one that is *like to be executed for robbing a church*, one Bardolph, if your majesty know the man: his face is all bubukles, and whelks, and knobs, and flames of fire; and his lips blows at his nose, and it is like a coal of fire, sometimes plue, and sometimes red; but his nose is executed, and his fire's out.

K. Henry. We would have all such offenders so cut off:---and we give express charge, that in our marches through the country, there be nothing compelled from the villages, nothing taken but piad for; none of the French upbraided, or abused in disdainful language: For when lenity and cruelty play for a kingdom, the gentler gamester is the soonest winner. *Ibid.*

The dispute between Theobald, Dr. Warburton, and Mr. Malone, whether Shakespeare wrote *pax* or *pix*, is highly amusing, especially when it is remembered that neither of these critics seems to have consulted a single *contemporary* authority, but contented themselves with referring to Hall and Hollingshed. They appear to have been chiefly occupied upon this, as upon most other occasions, with *literal* emendations; and, with very few exceptions, have omitted those illustrations of the play, which the narrative of contemporary writers would have amply afforded them, and which, to say the least, would have been infinitely more instructive and important.

companies of horsemen, in hundreds, on armed horses, to break through the battle and strength of our archers, when they should come to an engagement with us; therefore the King gave orders through the whole army, that each archer should provide himself with a square or round pole or staff, six feet in length, and of a sufficient thickness, and sharp at each end; directing that whenever the French army should approach to battle, and begin breaking through their ranks with troops of horse of that sort, each one should fix his pole before him in front, and those who were behind, other poles intermediately; one end being fixed in the ground towards them, and the other sloping towards the enemy, higher than a man's waist from the ground, so that when the horsemen came to the charge, they would either retreat affrighted at the sight of the stakes, or regardless of their own safety, both horses and horsemen be in danger of being thrown on them.

The English expect to be attacked.

As we advanced, we were quartered on the following day in moderate sized farm-houses, near the walled town of Neel;[a] and the King sent to the inhabitants to redeem the adjacent farm-houses from fire, but meeting with a refusal, he ordered the inhabitants to be destroyed on the morrow, by setting fire to the houses. By the will of God, news was suddenly brought to the King, that about a league off there was a

Near Nesle, 18th Oct.

[a] Nesle, a town about twenty-four miles E. S. E. of Amiens, and nearly four, West, from the nearest part of the Somme.

Near the banks of the Somme.

convenient ford over the river Somme; the King therefore sending forward an advanced guard of horse to try the ford, the depth of the bed, and the current of the river, followed quickly with the army.[a] But before he arrived at the river, he crossed a marsh about a mile from it, through which ran a stream, descending from a little distance into the greater river, and so he was shut up as it were in a corner, between the two rivers; but, by the will of God, without the enemy knowing it.[b] On coming to the river Somme,

Livius. [a] The King marched several days, seeking a passage over the river Somme, and was shewn one by some prisoners in the host, by which they passed, and which the prisoners declared had never before been discovered, *Livius*, *Elmham*, p. 53. *Livius* adds, that their passage at Blanchetache had

Elmham. been opposed by sharp stakes—p. 13: which is also mentioned by *Elmham*, p. 52, who says, Henry was thus compelled to seek for a new ford. Accord-

Monstrelet ing to *Monstrelet*, Henry crossed the Somme by the passage of Voyenne and Bethencourt, on the morrow of the feast of St. Luke, [19th of October,] which the people of St. Quintin had failed to destroy: he then took up his quarters at Monchy la Gache, and the French army proceeded to Bappames and its neighbourhood. From Monchy la Gache Henry approached Encre, and took up his quarters on Tuesday in a village called Forcheville, and his army were quartered at Cheu and in the neighbouring towns. Ed. 1595, p. 226-227.

Des Ursins [b] The following is *Des Ursins'* account of the march of the English army, and of the fate of the detachment which left Calais to join it. "The King of England left Harfleur, and was accompanied by about four thousand men-at-arms, and from sixteen to eighteen thousand archers on foot, and other fighting men, and proceeded towards Gurnay and Amiens, committing innumerable evils, setting places on fire, killing people, taking children and carrying them away. When the French heard of their departure they assembled many troops and others, and soon collected a great number of the commons, as well from Paris as elsewhere, armed and provided with hatchets and leaden mallets, and who were anxious to use them, but the soldiers ridiculed and despised them. The Marshal Boucicault, Messire Clignet de Brabant, and a bastard of Bourbon, were ordered to scour the country, who did great harm to the English, killing many, and not allowing any to escape. In passing by any wood or forest, the French common people killed many, and such as were made prisoners were not put to ransom. From Calais, about 300 English, who advanced before the rest of their people, were met by

we there found two places capable of forming a passage of the river, and the water of the shallows reaching little higher than a horse's belly: the approach was by two long but narrow causeways, which the French had before warily broken through the middle, so that it was difficult for two abreast to ride through the breaks. Sir John Cornwall and Sir Gilbert Umfreville, Knights, being immediately sent over the water with their banners, and certain foot lancers and archers, a body of men was formed for covering the remainder of the people while landing, against an irruption of the French. The King had the breaks filled up with wood, fascines, and straw, until three could easily ride abreast; and he ordered the baggage of the army to be conveyed over one of the said causeways, and his army across the other; where, stationing himself at the entrance on one part, and some chosen men on the other, lest the crowded and undisciplined multitude through eagerness to cross should press together, and choke up the narrow pass with impediments of their own creating; but by means of those two passages, great numbers soon collected beyond the river. Yet before a hundred of our men had forded it, some French horsemen appeared, coming from the villages, one, two, or three miles off, from that quarter, in troops and files, having been appointed by the French to

On the banks of the Somme, 19th Oct.

some brave inhabitants of Picardy, who killed and captured a great many, DesUrsins and the others were obliged to retreat to Calais."—p. 310.

Passage of the Somme, 19th Oct.

obstruct our crossing; when rallying, though slowly, as it pleased God, they advanced towards our men, sending forward the swifter horsemen to find out whether there was still a chance of their being able to repel us. But they were immediately met by our advanced guard of horse, and as our forces had in the mean time much increased beyond the river, and had taken an excellent position before the enemy's sluggishness or incaution allowed them to rally; the French making a stand at a distance, observed our constant increase, and reckoning our power to act and their inability to resist, deserted the place and vanished from our sight. Now we commenced crossing about the first hour after noonday, and it wanted an hour to night when we had entirely passed over.[a] On which occasion we passed a joyful night in the next farmhouses, which had been left by the French on our first arrival over the water; considering with great joy, that in about eight days, according to

Night of the 19th October.

St. Remy.

[a] *St. Remy's* description of the passage of the river is highly interesting; "And to speak of the passage of the King of England, true it is that he and all his army dismounted from their horses, and came to the river and began to destroy houses, and to take ladders, doors and windows, to construct a bridge to cross, so that from about eight o'clock in the morning until nearly the close of the day, the English never ceased to work about the said passage; and thus they passed without horses. When a sufficient number had crossed, a standard was sent over, and when the advanced guard had all crossed on foot, the horses were taken across. Then the battalions and rear guard passed, and as is just stated, it was night before they had all crossed. Notwithstanding it was night, the English marched on, and the King lodged not far from Athies, in the neighbourhood of which was the French army. When the French knew the English had crossed the river, they were extremely dissatisfied with those of St. Quintin, for they were commanded by the King to destroy the passage where they crossed."—p. 86.

the general calculation, we should complete our march; and we firmly hoped that the army of the enemy, which was said to be waiting for us at the head of the river, would not harass us with attacks. Nevertheless, on the morrow, viz. Sunday, the Duke of Orleans, and the Duke of Bourbon, who were nearly allied to the King, having the command of the French army, sent three heralds to announce that they would fight with him before he came to Calais; but without assigning the day or place.[a] In

Night of the 19th October.

20th Oct.

Heralds sent to Henry.

[a] *Titus Livius* states, that the heralds were first brought to the Duke of York, and by him presented to the King, before whom they fell upon their knees, and having obtained his permission to speak, addressed him in these words: "Right, puissant Prince, great are thy military talents according to the report among our Lords. They have heard, that thou labourest by thy forces to conquer the territories, towns, and castles of the realm of France, and to depopulate French cities, for which causes, and for the sake of their country and their oaths many of our Lords are assembled to defend their rights, and they inform thee by us, that before thou comest to Calais they will meet thee, to fight with thee, and to be revenged of thy conduct." To which, Henry, with a courageous spirit, a firm look, without anger, and without his face changing colour, mildly replied, "Be all things according to the will of God." When the heralds inquired what road he would take, he answered, "Straight to Calais, and if our adversaries attempt to disturb us in our journey, it shall not be without the utmost peril. We seek them not, nor from fear of them shall we move slower or quicker. We advise them, however, not to interrupt our journey, nor to seek so great an effusion of christian blood!" The heralds, satisfied with this answer, and being dismissed after receiving a hundred gold French crowns, returned to their Lords, p. 14. This interview is of so interesting a nature, that *Elmham's* account of it is subjoined. "As soon as the heralds had arrived at the foremost ranks of the English army, the cause of their coming being first made known to the Duke of York, the Constable and Marshal of the army, and by him explained to the King, they were by his commands introduced into the presence of the King, who was waiting on horseback in the open country, surrounded by a few noblemen; and falling on their knees, stated the purport of their mission. They informed Henry, 'That as the Princes and Nobles of France heard and knew his martial fame and fervent passion for warlike deeds, and especially because he was attempting with a mighty hand to lay waste, or subdue those parts which belonged to the crown of

Livius.

Elmham.

Henry's address to his army.

consequence, our King, thankful for the favor of God and wholly relying upon his help, and the righteousness of his own cause, addressed his army with great spirit and tenderness, and disposed himself for battle on the morrow; when, advancing on his march, he met with no resistance.

Pass Peronne, 21st Oct.

Passing by the walled town of Peron[a] on our left, we found the horsemen of the French army setting out from the town towards us, with the view of drawing us within the shot and missiles of the enemy, but our horsemen making a stand, they quickly fled into the town. After we had passed the town about a mile, we found the roads strangely trodden by the French army, as if they had gone before us in many thousands; and then we who were the remnant of the people,

Elmham. France, which they were bound to defend, themselves and their numerous followers, and for the preservation of the title of their King, they had resolved to fight the English army before they reached Calais.' Henry mildly, and with a courageous heart, and a steady countenance replied: 'As the Lord hath decreed, let all things be fulfilled;' and being asked by the heralds by which road he should proceed, he said, 'Straight towards our town of Calais we intend to direct our steps, from which road, if our enemies have determined to drive us, let them attempt to do so at their peril, for we will neither seek them, nor move faster or more slowly on their account.' The heralds, satisfied with these replies, after a hundred crowns had been presented to each of them from the King's treasury, returned to

St. Remy. those who sent them," p. 55. *St. Remy* however says, that Henry did not make any answer to the French heralds, but that he sent two of his own officers of arms to the French Lords, with a reply similar to what has been just stated. From that time he and his followers always wore their 'cottes d'armes,' and he ordered each archer to be furnished with a stake, sharp at both ends; thus equipped they marched from day to day, until the battle, p. 87.

[a] Peronne, a town on the Somme, about twenty-three miles E. by N. of Amiens.

not to say of the more powerful, dreading the impending battle, raised our hearts and eyes to heaven, crying with voices of the deepest earnestness, for God to have compassion upon us, and of his unspeakable goodness to turn away from us the power of the French.[a] Pass Peronne, 21st Oct.

[a] The situation of Henry's army at this moment was truly critical, and Laboureur the following extracts from *Laboureur*, shew that the despair of the English was proportionate to the confidence of their enemies, and that nothing but mismanagement and jealousy saved them from destruction. He states, "that the French ministers assembled all the troops which were dispersed, and ordered them to follow Henry's route, and to keep in the fields, without lodging in the villages, excepting at night; fully believing that fortune had taken part against their enemies, and that she had thus embarrassed them to render the conquest of them the more easy. This order was sent to all the bailiffs and provosts and royal justices, and would have been attended with the expected success, if they had a real army, or rather if they had not been a confused mass of *canaille*, bastards, exiles, and villains, who enrolled themselves under the Princes, less from regard to the safety and interests of their country, than with the view of pillaging it. In a word, excepting by murder and burning, they rendered themselves more dreadful than the enemy himself. The King of France came to Rouen at the commencement of October, with an army capable of conquering the best disciplined forces. He had more than fourteen thousand men-at-arms, commanded by distinguished leaders, of whom many were of the blood royal, and well merit that their names should have a place in this history. Among others, there were the Duke de Guyenne, eldest son of the King, the Dukes of Berry, Orleans, Bourbon, Alençon, Barr, and Brabant, and the Counts of Nevers, Richmont, Vandôsme, and fifteen other great Barons, nearly all the bravest Knights, and the most devoted to the King, who ardently desired to revenge the injuries they had received from the English."—"Besides this great body of the King's troops," he continues, "the citizens of Paris offered 6000 men well armed, to fight in the front on the day of battle, but on the Duke of Berry speaking much in praise of this militia in presence of the Knights of his suite, one of them, named Jean de Beaumont, replied with contempt, 'What do we want of the assistance of these shopkeepers, since we are three times as many in numbers as the English.' It is true the English had the courage to quit their quarters on the sea shore, but they did so as much from necessity as from valour, for they could not allow themselves to be destroyed by famine, by which they were so distressed, that they resolved to risk a battle, and to advance further in land. They proceeded through forests and covered places, and passed Gournay in Beauvois, at the distance of twenty two leagues from the sea, with all the hostility of an army

Advanced towards the river Ternoise.

After that, we directed our march towards the river of Swords,[a] leaving on the following

Laboureur

which found the country abandoned to its mercy. They were four days on their route, and the fear of finding themselves hemmed in by our people, made them take the road to Amiens. They suffered so much, that they were willing to procure food at any price or in any manner, and they complained publicly against the French traitors, who had produced their miseries, wishing them all possible ills as a punishment for their perfidy." pp. 1005, 1006. "It is also," he adds, "but true that the French might have exterminated the English army, if they had made use of their advantages, and without any loss of blood, but they were all astonished to hear that by an order of some of the leaders, I know not their names, they were marched off, and gave up the pursuit to encamp elsewhere." *Ibid.* p. 1007. The same writer notices the jealousy of the leaders of the French army, (p. 1009,) and says, that when Henry knew that he must fight the French army, they were *four times* as many as his forces, and that as he had to engage so many Dukes, Counts, and Barons of France, he thought it better to change his design and to endeavour to escape from the danger by treaty, which he offered on the 24th of October, and proposed to repair all the mischief caused by his descent in France, provided they would promise to let him and his troops pass," but, he observes, the "mad presumption of some, and the evil intentions of others, made them prefer war to peace."—p. 1008.

St. Remy.

[a] The river Ternoise. *St. Remy* thus describes Henry's route after he passed the Somme. "When he had crossed the Somme he lodged near Athies, and then proceeded to Doing, near Peronne. Afterwards he lodged at Miraumont, where he received certain intimation that he was to be fought, and then went towards Encre, and took up his quarters at a village called Forcheville; and his army lodged in the neighbouring places, always in such array as you have heard, wearing their 'cotes d'armes;' and the next morning, which was Wednesday, [23rd October], they marched to Luceu, and lodged at Bonnieres l'Escalon, and his advanced guard lodged at Frenen, on the river Canche. It is true that the King of England and his people were that night well lodged in seven or eight villages, without any opposition, for the French had gone on to get before him at St. Pol, on the river Anvin; and to speak truly, the King intended to have lodged at another village, which had been taken by his harbingers, but he who regulated the ceremonies of honor very creditably, did that which you have heard. True it is, that in performing this march, as often as he sent scouts before towns or castles, or upon any other commission, he obliged the lords or gentlemen who went, to divest themselves of their 'cotes d'armes,' and to resume them on their return. It so happened that on the day on which the King of England left Bonnieres to proceed to Blangy, he approached a village which had been selected by his harbingers, but as he was not informed of it, and not knowing the village in which he was to take up his quarters, he passed it at about a bow shot's distance and rode on, but when he was informed that he had

Wednesday, the walled town of [query Dou- Pass Doulens, 23rd Oct.
lens], one league on the left. And on the next 24th Oct.
day, viz. Thursday, descending the valley to-
wards the said river of Swords, it was told the
King by the scouts and advanced guard of horse,
that many thousands of the enemy were on the
other side of the river, about one league on our
right.[a] We passed therefore over the river as Cross the Ternoise.
quickly as we could; and when we reached the
top of the hill, on the other side, we saw three co-
lumns of the French emerge from the upper part French army discovered, 24th Oct.
of the valley, about a mile from us, who at length
being formed into battalions, companies, and
troops, in multitudes compared with us, halted a
little more than half a mile opposite to us, filling
a very wide field, as with an innumerable host of
locusts; a moderate sized valley being betwixt
us and them.[b] Our King in the mean time ani-

passed his quarters, he halted, and said, "Now God would not be pleased, St. Remy.
seeing that I have on my 'cote d'armes,' if I should turn back," and then passed beyond it, and took up his quarters where the advanced guard were to have lodged, which he caused to proceed farther on. The next day the King of England quitted the village, in the same array as that of the preceding days, keeping the route to Calais—p. 88.

[a] From Le Cheu Henry marched the next day, Wednesday, to Bonnieres Monstrelet
l'Escaillon, where he took up his quarters, and the Duke of York his uncle, who led the advanced guard, lodged at Frenench, on the river Canche, and the remainder of the English were dispersed in the seven or eight adjoining villages. They were not disturbed, for the French had hastened on to get before them, to the town of St. Pol, and on the river d'Aunun; and on the Thursday, the King of England left Bonniers, and proceeded in very fine order as far as Blangy, at which place after he had passed the river, he received the information from his scouts mentioned in the text.—*Monstrelet*, ed. 1595, p. 227.

[b] After the departure of the heralds, *Titus Livius* asserts, that the King Livins.
having been informed of a river which must be crossed, over which was a bridge, and that his progress depended greatly on securing possession of it,

Henry's address to his army.

mated his army with great courteousness and intrepidity, and arranged them in battalions and

Livius.

despatched some part of his forces to defend it from being destroyed. They found many of the enemy attempting to break it down, whom they attacked, and after a severe conflict captured the bridge and kept it. This he adds, happened upon the xi Kal. November, on which day the church commemo-

Elmham.

rates St. Romayne, the Confessor,[a] p. 15. *Elmham*, p. 56, says, on the arrival of the English detachment at the bridge, they found some of the enemy busily employed in breaking it to pieces, whom they attacked and routed, wounding some, and making many prisoners, and manfully preserved the bridge from destruction. Now," he adds, "it was Thursday the morrow of the feast of St. Romanus the Confessor, on which having passed over the bridge, the Duke of York, commander of the van of the royal army, having ascended to the top of a hill, sent scouts over the country to bring information if they discovered the enemy's forces; and one of them having perceived them, and being astonished at the extent of the French army, retreated with a trembling heart and with the utmost speed his horse would carry him to the Duke, and being almost breathless, said, 'Quickly be prepared for battle, as you are just about to fight against a world of innumerable people.' As soon as the Duke had informed himself of the truth of the report, he acquainted the King, who received the news with a cheerful countenance, nor changed either into a cold tremor, nor into the heat of passion, but having directed the middle battalion which he commanded in person to halt, he hastened at the utmost speed of the fine horse on which he rode, to view the enemy. The superior numbers of the French troops, which he says "were like so many forests covering the whole of the country far and wide," did not at all lessen Henry's courage, or reliance upon Providence, notwithstanding that it had pleased him to visit his army with such ravages of death, pestilence, famine, labour, and other troubles. Devoutly therefore committing himself and his army into God's protection, and having with the advice of experienced soldiers chosen a proper situation for his forces, and knowing from the shortness of the winter's day that evening would speedily approach, he drew up his army in regular order and array, and assigned them their stations, and exhorted them to prepare for battle, animating their hearts by his intrepid demeanour, and consoling expressions. When the night closed in, and it became so dark that they could scarcely see their own hands and knew not where to find a night's lodging, the King determined to seek such quarters for his army as God might provide, and having ordered them to refrain from making their wonted noise and clamour, lest the enemy might thereby devise some means of annoying them, the army without sending harbingers, proceeded in search of quarters for the night, and "wonderful to relate," observes the writer, "by the direction of a certain white road,

[a] The xi. Kal of November, is the 22nd of October, which occurred in 1415, on a Tuesday, but the feast of St. Romayne the Confessor, falls on the 23rd October, and which agrees with *Elmham* saying, that the day before the battle, when they crossed the bridge was on *Thursday*, the *morrow* of the feast of St. Romayne, i. e. 24th October.

wings, as if they were immediately to come to battle. Every one who had not before cleansed his conscience by confession, then took the armour of penitence, nor was there at that time a want of any thing but priests.[a] Amongst other speeches which I noticed, was this, a certain Lord, Walter Hungerford, Knight, was regretting in the King's presence, that he had not, in addition to the small retinue which he had there, ten

Henry's address to his army.

which they discovered in the dark, they came safely to a village suitable for their quarters, and where they were provided with necessaries in a more convenient manner than on preceding nights. There they passed the night without confusion, companions having met with companions, and masters with servants: they caused watch-fires to be lighted all round the army, in the same way as the enemy had done, who were not more than a quarter of an English mile from them. About the middle of the night, whilst the King deeming that an acquaintance with the place where the battle would be fought on the next day, would be very useful to him, sent some valiant knights by moonlight to examine the field, from whose report he derived information, the better to enable him to array his forces.—p. 59.

Elmham.

[a] *Livius* describes the events of the day before the battle as follows, "As soon as the army had passed the river and ascended the hill, the Duke of York, who commanded the first ward, was informed by one of the English scouts, trembling and out of breath, that an immense multitude of the enemy was approaching, which being confirmed by the reports of other scouts, he made it known to the King, who, without fear or anger, commanded the middle ward which he led, to halt; and giving spurs to his horse, hastened to view the enemy, which he found to be an innumerable multitude. He then returned to the field, and with a constant and fearless mind made arrangements for battle, by distributing to every captain his proper post, and kept his army thus prepared in the field until night; and as soon as the day closed he endeavoured to find some place of shelter for his people where they might procure needful refreshments. On that night, the eve of a terrible battle, there was no fit place at hand, but providentially there was shown to them a certain white way, by which they were led to a village where they met with better meat and drink than they had found before in their march, and where a cottage was assigned to the King for his night's lodging. From the place where the King had placed his battalions, to the village, by the King's command no noise or cry was heard from the English, but every man proceeded in silence; and when they arrived at the said village they lighted their watch-fires. In like manner did the French, who were distant from the English scarcely two hundred and fifty paces.

Livius.

Henry's address to his army.

thousand of the best English archers, who would be desirous of being with him. When the King said, 'thou speakest foolishly, for by the God of heaven, on whose grace I have relied, and in whom I have a firm hope of victory, I would not, even if I could, increase my number by one; for those whom I have are the people of God, whom he thinks me worthy to have at this time. Dost thou not believe the Almighty, with these his humble few, is able to conquer the haughty opposition of the French, who pride themselves on their numbers and their own strength, as if it might be said they could do as they liked? and in my opinion God, of his true justice, would not bring any disaster upon one of so great confidence, as neither fell out to Judas Maccabeus, until he became distrustful, and thence deservedly fell into ruin.'[a] The enemy having for a little

[a] In a former note the fidelity with which Shakespeare has in some instances followed history, was noticed; but a more remarkable example is afforded, by comparing the following extract with the passage in the text. It is true that the Poet does not make Henry talk of 'Judas Maccabeus;' nor is the language imputed to him of so pious a nature.

Westmoreland. O that we now had here
But one ten thousand of those men in England,
That do no work to-day!
K. Henry. What's he, that wishes so?
My Cousin Westmoreland?---No, my fair Cousin:
If we are mark'd to die, we are enough
To do our country loss; and if to live,
The fewer men, the greater share of honor.
God's will! I pray thee, wish not one man more, &c.
King Henry V. Act iv. Scene 3.

Shakespeare was indebted to Hollingshed for this anecdote, which is also mentioned by *Elmham* and *Titus Livius*, who state that the observation was made by "one of the host." Whilst alluding to Shakespeare, it may be observed as a singular anomaly, that though he very closely adhered to History in many parts of KING HENRY V. he should have deviated so much from it in the *Dramatis Personæ*. He makes the Duke of Bedford accom-

while examined and considered our small force, drew themselves into a plain beyond a wood, not far off on the left, between us and them, where our route lay towards Calais. Our King conjecturing that their intention was to go round the wood, and come upon us by that way, or making a circuit through the more distant forests in the neighbourhood, to surround us on every side, forthwith removed his troops, and continually took a position opposite to them. And when at length after some delays we were nearly overtaken by sunset, the French, perhaps not thinking it proper that war should be carried on at night, since it is not fit, took the villages and orchards in the neighbourhood, proposing to rest until morning.[a] Henry's address to his army.

pany Henry to Harfleur and Agincourt, when it is notorious that he was Regent of England; the Earl of Dorset, (with respect to whom Shakespeare has, as Mr. Malone points out, committed an anachronism by styling him Duke of Exeter, for he was not raised to that dignity until the following year, 18 Nov. 1416,) was left to command Harfleur; the Earl of Westmoreland, (Act iv, sc. 3,) instead of quitting England with the expedition, or being at Agincourt, had been appointed to defend the marches of Scotland, and the Earl of Warwick, (Act iv. sc. 7,) had returned to England ill before the King left Harfleur. On the other hand, the Poet has not introduced the Earl of Suffolk, the Lords Camoys, or Fitz-Hugh, Sir Walter Hungerford, Sir John Cornwall, Sir Gilbert Umfreville, or others who were highly conspicuous during the whole expedition; and the only characters he has adopted, who really were present at Agincourt, are the Dukes of Gloucester and York, the Earl of Salisbury, and Sir Thomas Erpyngham.

[a] *Pierre de Fenin's* narrative of Henry's march from the time he left Eu is, that he proceeded towards Abbeville; that many expected he would pass the Somme at Blanche-tache; that he however went to Pont de Remy and assaulted Bille with the view of crossing there, but that place was too well defended by the Lord of Vancour, who was Lord of it, with his two sons, who were celebrated Knights of great bravery; that when Henry found he could not cross at Pont de Remy, he marched towards Aran and thence to Amiens, and passing the town without loss lodged at Bonne; that the French Fenin.

Night of 24th Oct.

And when at length day-light closed, and darkness had intercepted us from them, still we

Fenin.

army so closely followed him that often there were not more than five or six leagues between them, and it was daily expected they would have engaged, but a convenient situation could not be found; that Henry crossed the Somme at Esclusier, lodging at the tower of Miraumont, thence to get to Calais, and subsequently took up his quarters at Forceville, Acheu, and in the neighbouring villages; that the French marched before to St. Paul; that Henry afterwards lodged at Bonniere l'Escaillon, and on Wednesday [erroneously called the feast of All Saints, *i. e.* 1st November instead of the 23rd October,] his advanced guard was quartered at Fervene, and occupied during the night seven or eight villages: that on the Thursday following he quitted Bonniere, passed Fervene, whence he went as far as Blangi in Ternois, from which he marched to lodge at Maisoncelle, where he took up his quarters and collected all his troops; that on the same day the Lords of France lodged at Russeauville, Azincourt, and many other villages thereabouts, that they then took the field and were quartered near Henry's host, to which they were so close that there were not more than four bow-shots between the two armies: and that in this manner they passed the night, without doing any thing to

Monstrelet

each other.—pp. 459, 460. *Monstrelet* states, that the King of France and the Duke of Acquitaine came to Rouen, at which place a council was held on the xxth of October, to determine what should be done to oppose the King of England, at which were present the King of Sicily, the Dukes of Berry and Brittany, the Count of Ponthieu, youngest son of the King, the Chancellors of France and of Acquitaine, and several other celebrated counsellors, to the number of thirty-five. After many things had been proposed and argued, it was at last determined by a majority of thirty of the said counsellors, that the King of England and his army should be fought, and the other five, for many reasons, gave it as their best advice that they should not engage them on the day they had fixed upon, but the sentiments of the majority were adopted. Immediately the King sent letters to the Constable and his other officers, commanding them to assemble with all their forces to give battle to the King of England. It was then proclaimed throughout France, that all noble men accustomed to bear arms, and willing to acquire honor, should hasten night and day to join the Constable wherever he might be, and even Louis, Duke of Acquitaine, was very desirous of doing so, notwithstanding that he had been forbidden by the King, his father; but by the persuasion of King Louis and the Duke of Berry, he did not go. And then all the Lords in great haste proceeded to the said Constable, who approaching the country of Artois, sent to the Count of Charolois only son of the Duke of Burgundy, the Lord of Montgauguier, to inform him of the resolution taken to fight the English, and, on the part of the King, to require him most earnestly to be present on that day. Montgauguier found him at Arras, and was honorably received by him and his Lords, and after he had acquainted him in council with the cause of his coming, he was in-

continued on the plain, and heard the enemy as they quartered their people, each one as the manner is, vociferating for his comrade, servant, or friend, who might be at a distance in so great a multitude. And our men beginning to do the same, the King commanded silence throughout the whole army, under pain of forfeiture of horse and harness if a gentleman should offend, and of the right ear, without hope of pardon, for an attendant or any inferior person presuming to violate the royal order.[a] And he turned immediately off in silence to the village just by, where we had houses to rest in, but very scanty gardens and orchards, and were exposed to much rain through nearly the whole night. Our adversaries observing our stillness and silence, and thinking we were panic-struck in consequence of our small numbers, and that we had, perhaps, purposed flying by night, made fires and planted strong guards throughout the plains and passes; and it was said, they reckoned themselves so sure of us, that our King and his nobles on that night were played for at dice.[b]

Night of 24th Oct.

formed by the Lords of Robais and Viefville, that he would use such expedition as should be necessary. The Count of Artois wished with all his heart to be present in the engagement with the English, which all his council had advised him, yet he was nevertheless expressly commanded to the contrary by his father, John Duke of Burgundy." Ed. 1595, p. 226, 227. Fenin.

[a] See the STATUTES FOR THE REGULATIONS OF HENRY THE FIFTH'S ARMY. APPENDIX, No. viii.

[b] *Monstrelet* thus describes what took place in both camps, on the day and night preceding the battle. "On Thursday, [24October,] towards evening, Philip Count of Nevers was Knighted by the hand of Boucicault, Marshal of France, and with him many other great Lords, and soon afterwards the Constable arrived near to Azincourt, where all the French had assembled Monstrelet

Friday, 25th Oct. On the morrow, viz. Friday, the feasts of Saints Crispin and Crispinian, the xxvth of Oc-

Monstrelet in one host, and lodged in the field, each man as near as possible to his banner, excepting those of low station, who lodged in the adjoining villages. And the King of England with all the English, lodged in a small village called Maisoncelles, about three bow-shots distant from them. The French, with all the royal officers, that is to say the Constable, the Marshal Boucicault, the Lord of Dampierre, and Sir Clignet de Brabant, each styling himself Admiral of France, the Lord of Rambures, Master of the Cross-bows, with many other Princes, Barons, and Knights, planted their banners with loud acclamations of joy around the royal banner of the Constable, on the spot they had fixed upon, situated in the county of St. Pol, or territory of Azincourt, by which the next morning the English must pass on their march to Calais. Great fires were this night lighted near to the banner under which each person was to fight, but although the French were full one hundred and fifty thousand "chevaucheurs," with a great number of waggons and carts, cannon, ribaudequins, and all other military stores; they had but little music to cheer their spirits; and it was remarked with surprize, that scarcely any of their horses neighed during the night, which was considered by many as a bad omen. The English during the whole night, played on their trumpets and various other instruments, insomuch that the whole neighbourhood resounded with their music; and notwithstanding they were much fatigued and oppressed by cold, hunger, and other annoyances, they made their peace with God, by confessing their sins with tears, and numbers of them taking the sacrament; for, as it was related by some prisoners, they looked for certain death on the morrow. The Duke of Orleans sent in the night time for the Count of Richmont, who commanded the followers of the Duke of Acquitaine, and the Bretons to join him, and when this was done they amounted to about two thousand bacinets and archers: they advanced near to the quarters of the English, who suspecting that they meant to surprise them, drew up in battle array and began to attack each other. The Duke of Orleans and several others were on this occasion Knighted; after this skirmish the French retired to their camp, and nothing more was done that night. During this time the Duke of Brittany came from Rouen to Amiens, and would have assisted the French with six thousand men, if the battle had been delayed until the Saturday. In like manner the Lord of Longny, Marshal of France, was hastening to their aid with six hundred men-at-arms, and slept that night only six leagues from the main army, and set out very early the following morning to join them." Ed. 1595,

St. Remy. p. 227.[b] To this account the narrative of *St. Remy*, who expressly says he was present, is an important addition. On Thursday, the 24th of October, the eve of St. Crispin, when the King of England and his army left Blangy, his scouts discovered on all sides the approach of the French in great numbers, to take up their quarters at Rousseauville and at Azincourt, that they might be there before him, to give him battle on the following day. But to return to the King of England: before he passed the river Blangy in Ter-

tober, the French at break of day arrayed themselves in battalions, troops, and squadrons, and Friday, 25th Oct.

nois, and also because there is a passage there, he caused the 'cotes d'armes' of six noblemen of his advance guard to be displayed, and made them pass beyond it to ascertain if the passage was unguarded, which they found undefended. Thus the English hastily crossed in great force, and when they had passed the village of Blangy, they learnt from their scouts as a certainty, that the French were assembled in great force. The King of England seeing the French before him, ordered his army to dismount and prepared for battle, and the English, expecting it on that Thursday, might be seen on their knees, with their clasped hands raised towards Heaven, praying that God would take them into his protection. *And it is true that I was with them, and saw that which I have related.* In this array the King of England remained in that place until sunset; and on the other hand the French, who could easily perceive the English, and likewise expected to fight them on that Thursday, halted and made every necessary preparation, putting on their 'cotes d'armes,' and displaying their banners; and they made many Knights."—pp. 88, 89. He then describes the French army in a manner so very similar to *Monstrelet*, that it is unnecessary to repeat it, and goes on to state, "that before Henry went to his quarters at Maisoncelles, he allowed all the prisoners in his host to depart, upon their promising that if he gained the victory, they would all return to him and their masters, if they survived; but that if he lost the battle, that then they should be released from their engagements. When the French perceived that Henry had taken up his quarters at Maisoncelle, and that a battle would not take place on that day, the Constable commanded that every one should lodge where he was. Then banners and pennons were furled, lances, 'cotes d'armes' were laid aside, and trunks and chests unpacked; and the Lords sent their people or harbingers to the next villages, for straw and litter to put under their feet, and also for them to repose on in the place where they were. The night was very cold for the horses, and it rained nearly the whole time, and the pages and valets, and all manner of people, made so much noise that it is said the English plainly heard them; but from them nothing was heard, for during that night, all there confessed themselves who could find a priest. The men-at-arms replaced their 'aguillettes' and all their equipments, and the archers likewise affixed new strings, and adjusted their bows as was necessary. When the morning dawned, the King of England heard three masses one after the other, armed in all his armour, excepting his head, and wearing his 'cote d'armes.' After masses had been said, they brought him the armour for his head, which was a very handsome 'bachinet à baviere,' upon which he had á very rich crown of gold, circled like an imperial crown. After he was equipped at all points, and mounted upon a grey horse, (a little horse,) without spurs, and without commanding the trumpets to sound, he ordered his army out of their quarters; and upon a fine plain of young corn he arranged the order of battle, and directed a gentleman with ten lances and twenty archers to guard the baggage of himself and his people, with his pages, who were noblemen, and St. Remy.

Friday, 25th Oct. **took their position in terrific numbers before us in the said plain named AGINCOURT, through which**

St. Remy. **many of the sick. He only formed one line, and all the men-at-arms were placed in the middle, and all the banners sufficiently near to each other. On the sides of the men-at-arms were the archers, and *there might be from nine hundred to a thousand men-at-arms, and ten thousand archers.* And to speak of the banners, he had there for his person five banners, that is to say, the banner of the Trinity, the banner of St. George, the banner of St. Edward, and the banner of his own arms. There were also the banners of many other persons—the Duke of Gloucester's, the Duke of York's, the Earl of March's, the Earl of Huntingdon's, the Earl of Oxford's, the Earl of Kent's, the Lords Roos and Cornwall's, and of many others. When the King of England had drawn up his order of battle, and arranged his baggage, he rode along his lines upon the little grey horse before mentioned, and made a fine address to them, exhorting them to act well; saying, that he was come into France to recover his lawful inheritance, and that he had good and just cause to claim it; that in that quarrel they might freely and surely fight; that they should remember they were born in the kingdom of England, where their fathers and mothers, wives and children now dwelt, and therefore they ought to strive to return there with great glory and fame; that the Kings of England, his predecessors, had gained many noble battles and successes over the French; that on that day every one should endeavour to preserve his own person, and the honor of the crown of the King of England. He moreover reminded them that the French boasted that they would cut off three fingers from the right hand of every archer they might take, so that their shot should never again kill man or horse."—pp. 89-90.**

***St. Remy* then proceeds to describe the preparations made by the French for the battle. "The French, who on the Thursday evening took up their quarters in the fields between Azincourt and Tramecourt, where the battle occurred the next day, in which place as is said they kept themselves until morning, hoping never to leave it until they had fought the King of England. Thus they put every thing in order; but to relate the truth, the Thursday evening when they returned to the place where they halted, and where the battle took place the next day, the Princes of France and the royal officers who were there, that is to say, the Constable, Marshal Boucicault, the Lord of Dampierre, and Messire Clignet de Brabant, both of whom had been appointed Admirals of France, the Lord of Rambures, Commander of the Cross-bow-men of France, and many Princes, Barons, and Knights, planted their banners in great spirits with the royal banner of the Constable of France, on a field which they had directed, and situated in the Comte of St. Pol, and territory of Azincourt, by which the English would pass the next day on their way to Calais; and that night they made many large fires close to the banner under which they were to fight; and they say that the French were full *fifty thousand men*, with a great number of waggons and carts, guns and 'serpentines,' and those other warlike implements which were requisite on such an occasion. Nevertheless they had few musical instruments to cheer**

lay our road towards Calais; and they placed many companies of horse in hundreds, at each Friday, 25th Oct.

them; and on that night, of all the host of France, scarcely a horse was heard to neigh; I know it for a truth, from Messire John, the bastard of Varvin, Lord of Forestel, *for he was in that army on the part of the French, and I was in the other among the English.* At which circumstance every one was much surprised, and the French did not deem it a good omen, whilst some anticipated what happened the next day. On the following morning, which was Friday, the 25th day of October, in the year 1415, the French, that is to say, the Constable of France, and all the other officers of the kingdom, the Dukes of Orleans, Bar, Alençon, the Counts of Nevers, Eu, Richemont, Vendôsme, Marle, Vaudemont, Blamont, Salmes, Grantpret, Roussy, Dampmartin, and generally all the other nobles and soldiers, equipped themselves and quitted their quarters; and then, by the advice of the Constable and other experienced persons of the King's council, it was ordered that the army should be formed into three lines, that is to say, the advance guard, the main body, and the rear guard. In the advance guard were placed about eight thousand bacinets, Knights, and Esquires, and a few archers, which was led by the Constable, and with him the Dukes of Orleans and Bourbon, the Counts of Eu and Richmont, the Marshal Boucicault, the Master of the Cross-bow-men, the Lord of Dampierre, Admiral of France, Messire Guichart le Daulphin, and some other captains; and the Comte of Vendôsme, and other officers of the King, with sixteen hundred men-at-arms, were ordered to form a wing to attack the English on one side; and the other wing commanded by Messire Clignet de Brabant, Admiral, and Messire Louis de Bourbon, with eight hundred men-at-arms mounted, picked men, as they say, and as I have since heard. With which commanders above mentioned were to break the line of the English, Messire William de Saveuse, Hector and Philip his brothers, Ferry de Mailly, Aliaume de Gapaines, Allain de Vendonne, Lanion de Launay, and many others to the number before mentioned. And in the main body were placed a number of Knights and Esquires, and archers, who were commanded by the Dukes of Bar and Alençon, the Comtes of Nevers and Vendôsme, of Vaudemont, Blamont, Salmes, Grantpret, and Roussy. In the rear guard were all the remainder of the soldiers, led by the Comtes of Marle, Dampmartin, and Fauquebergue, and the Lord of Longroy, Captain of Ardre, who had brought those of the frontiers of the Boulonois. After the order of battle was thus formed, they made a noble appearance, and as nearly as could be estimated, they seemed to be *full three times as many as the English.* They then rested and divided themselves into companies, each near his proper banner, waiting the approach of the English, and taking refreshments, they mutually forgave the hatred which they had felt towards each other, and embraced and made peace, so that it was affecting to see them. All disputes and discords which had formerly existed among them gave place to affection; some eat and drank what they had; and they were thus occupied until nine or ten o'clock of the morning, as I was told, feeling sure from their great numbers that St. Remy.

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side of their van-guard, to break up the line and strength of our archers.[a] The van being a line

St. Remy.

the English could not escape out of their hands; but there were many wise persons who doubted whether they would fight them in a general battle. Eighteen Esquires of the French army belonging to the retinue of the Lord of Croy, and led by Brunelet de Masinguehem, and Ganiot de Bournonville, bound themselves by oath, that when the two armies met, they would with their united strength force themselves sufficiently near to the King of England to strike the crown from off his head, or that they would all die, which they did; but they succeeded in reaching so near to the King, that one of them with an axe gave him so violent a blow on his helmet, that they say he struck one of the points from his crown; but every one of these gentlemen was killed and cut to pieces, which, he observes, was a great pity, for if every one of the French army had acted as they did, it was thought that the English would have come badly off. Some of the French said that the King of England secretly sent two hundred archers in the rear of his army, so that they might not be seen, through a meadow near Tramecourt, to the place where the French advanced guard was posted, with the object of attacking them from that side; but a man of honor *who was that day in the company of the King of England, as I was*, assured me the report was not true. When the King of England had addressed his army in the manner before related, they cried out loudly, saying, 'Sir, we pray God give you a good life, and the victory over your enemies.' The King having thus admonished his soldiers, and being mounted upon a small horse, placed himself before his banner, and then proceeded with all his battalions in very fine order towards his enemies; and deputed persons in whom he had great confidence to meet and communicate with several celebrated Frenchmen, the which French and English met between the two armies, I know not at whose request; but true it is, that overtures and offers were there made from one side and the other, for a peace between the two Kings and kingdoms of France and England: and it was proposed on the part of France, as I have heard, that if he would renounce the title which he pretended to the crown of France, and wholly abandon and relinquish it, and give up the town of Harfleur which he had lately taken, the King would be willing to allow him to retain what he held in Guienne, and that which he held by ancient conquest in Picardy. The King of England, or his people replied,

Walsyngham.

[a] *Walsyngham* says, that Henry's army did not exceed eight thousand archers, and men-at-arms, that great part of them were afflicted with the malady contracted at Hareflue, and that the number of the French was increased to a hundred and forty thousand men-at-arms. He also remarks, that there had been a want of bread in the army, so that many used filberd nuts in the place of bread, and roasted flesh; that water had been the drink of the men of inferior rank in the army, for the space of about eighteen days; and that it was "with these dainties, these refreshments, the champions of the King of England were nourished and fed, who were about to combat with so many thousands of *giants!*"

of infantry, all selected from the nobles and choicest of them, forming a forest of lances, with a great multitude of helmets shining among them, and the horse in the flanks, making a number, by computation, thirty times greater than all ours. But the troops and squadrons composing their rear-guard and wings were all on horse-back, as if prepared for flight rather than for battle, and compared with us were an innumerable multitude. Our King in the mean time, after giving praises to God and hearing mass, disposed himself on the plain not far from his quarters, and had formed one line of battle, placing the vanguard commanded by the Duke of York, as a

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that if the King of France would surrender the Duchy of Guyenne, and five cities St. Remy.
which he named, and which belonged, and ought to form part of the Duchy of Guyenne, and the Comte of Ponthieu, and give him Katherine his daughter in marriage, with 800,000 crowns for her jewels and clothes, he would renounce his title to the French crown, and give up Harfleur. Which offers and demands not being accepted by either side, each returned to his army. As no hopes of peace remained, each side prepared for battle: every English archer had, as has been before said, a stake sharp at both ends, which he placed before him, and by which they secured themselves. The French had drawn up their lines between two small woods, the one close to Azincourt, and the other to Tramecourt. The ground was narrow, and very advantageous for the English, and the contrary for the French, for the latter had been all that night on horseback in the rain; and pages and valets and others, in walking their horses had broken up the ground which was soft, and in which the horses sunk in such a manner that it was with great difficulty they could get up again. Besides, the French were so loaded with armour, that they could not move: first, they were armed in long coats of steel reaching to their knees, and very heavy, below which was armour for their legs, and above white harness, and bacinets with camails, and so heavily were they armed, that together with the softness of the ground, it was with great difficulty they could lift their weapons. They had such a surprising number of banners, that many were ordered to be taken away and furled; and it was also ordered among the French, that each should shorten his lance, so that they might be the stiffer when they came to action. They had sufficient archers and cross-bow-men, but they were unable to use their bows, from the narrowness of the place, which did not afford room for more than the men-at-arms."—*St. Remy*, pp. 88 to 92.

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wing on the right, and his rear-guard commanded by the Lord de Camoys, as a wing on the left, with the archers in the form of a wedge between the wings, making them fix their poles before them, as had been before determined, to prevent them being broken through by the horse; and when the enemy learnt this by their scouts, either on that account, or from other fears, God knows, they kept at a distance opposite to us without approaching.[a] And when a great part

Livius.

[a] *Titus Livius*, p. 17-19, says, "the French were more than thirty-one men deep in every line, whilst the English lines were only of the depth of four men, and that the field was too small to allow them to act." He states, "that the French army had balisters of all sizes, from which they threw stones on the English. Whilst Henry was deliberating whether he should await the attack of the enemy, three French noblemen came to him, among whom was the Lord of Hely, who had formerly been a prisoner in England, and informed the King that he and some of his countrymen had heard that it had been said that he had quitted him disgracefully, and in a manner unbecoming a Knight, which report he was then ready to prove untrue, and that if any of his host had the hardihood to reproach him with the same, he desired that he would prepare for single combat, and that he would prove upon him the falsehood of the accusation. The King replied, 'that no combat of the kind should then take place upon the subject, but that another occasion would be more convenient.'—'Return then to your host,' said the King, 'and desire them to approach before night arrives, and we trust in God, that as you disregarded the honor of knighthood, by escaping from us, you will this day either be retaken, or terminate your life by the sword.' The Lord replied, 'that he would not warn his companions at his command; that they were then in the realm of King Charles, whose orders they would obey, and not his; and that they who were his subjects would come to battle at their own pleasure, and not at his.'—'Depart hence to your host,' rejoined Henry, 'and whatever speed you may use, shall not be so great but that we will be there soon after you.' Immediately the King ordered his banners to advance, and his host proceeded in three lines in regular order; and he commanded the priests to offer up prayers and supplications, and the heralds to fulfil their duties." The English then fell prostrate to the earth, and committed themselves to the protection of God, and each of them put a little piece of earth into his mouth, and at about twenty paces from the village of Agincourt the battle began. The English line extended as far as the ground would allow, but the French had formed their lines in two sharp fronts, like two horns, increasing towards the rear. *Walsyngham* says, "the King seeing that his men assembled with cheerfulness and ardour, soon after led them forth into

Walsyngham.

of the day had been spent in delay of this sort, and both armies stood with out moving a foot one against the other, the King determined to advance towards them, seeing that the opposing multitude deferred the charge which he had expected from them, and stood so across our route as either to break up our array, or terrify us by their number; or else intended to impede our route, or were expecting more auxiliaries who might be on their way, or at least knowing our want of provisions, would conquer by famine those whom with the sword they dare not attack.[a] Friday, 25th Oct.

And he ordered the baggage[b] of the army to the rear of the battle, for fear it should fall into

a field fresh sown with wheat, where it was scarcely possible to stand or walk, on account of the ruggedness and softness of the soil, and the French for the same reason, would not advance far into the field; between the two armies the field extended to the width of almost a mile." Walsyngham.

[a] *Des Ursins* says, "Our people and the English were near each other. On the following Thursday, the 24th of October, our people resolved to fight the next day, at the request of the English, who had been in want of provisions for three days, and demanded that they would give them battle, provisions, or a passage. The French, out of all their forces, only made two battalions. All the Lords wished to be in the first battalion, for each was so jealous of the others that they could not in any other way be reconciled. There were in the said first battalion 5000 Knights and Esquires, who did not strike a blow, and in the second 3000, besides the 'gross valets,' archers, and cross-bow-men. When the English knew it, they chose a fine place between two woods, and at a little distance before them was another wood, where they planted large ambuscades of archers; and in a wood on the side they placed large ambuscades of their mounted men-at-arms."—p. 314. Des Ursins

[b] *Walsyngham's* account of the attack on the baggage is curious, but as the part relating to the French believing themselves victors, is wholly unsupported by other writers, it must be read with suspicion. "Whilst the King and his men were engaged in the battle, fighting in close contact with the multitude of the French, the French plunderers seizing upon the baggage left in the rear, stole and carried it all off. In which, when they had found the royal crown, they cheered one another with a vain joy, so that they Walsyngham.

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the enemy's hands, it having been placed, together with the priests who were about to officiate caused the trumpets to be solemnly blown, and the hymn of praise, *Te Deum laudamus*, to be sung with the greatest exultation. For they had spread a false report that the King was taken, and was coming without delay. But after a little while, when they were informed by a sad messenger of the truth, their dance was turned into grief, and their joy into mourning."

Monstrelet

The following is *Monstrelet's* description of the battle. "On Friday the 25th of October, in the year 1415, the French, that is to say, the Constable and all the other officers of the King, the Dukes of Orleans, Bourbon, Bar, and Alençon; the Counts de Nevers, d'Eu, de Richemonte, de Vendôsme, de Marle, de Vaudemont, de Blaumonte, de Salines, de Grand Pré, de Roussy, de Dampmartin, and all the other nobles and men-at-arms, put on their armour and sallied out of their quarters. Then, by the advice of the Constable and others of the King of France's council, the army was formed into three divisions, the van-guard, the main body, and the rear-guard. The van consisted of about eight thousand bacinets, Knights, and Esquires, four thousand archers, and fifteen hundred cross-bows. This was commanded by the Constable, having with him the Dukes of Orleans and Bourbon, the Counts d'Eu and de Richemonte, the Marshal Boucicault, the master of the cross-bows, the Lord de Dampierre Admiral of France, Messire Guichart Daulphin, and some other Captains. The count de Vendôsme, and others of the King's officers were to form a wing of sixteen hundred men-at-arms, to fall on the flank of the English; and another wing, under the command of Sir Clignet de Brabant, Admiral of France, Messire Louis Bourdon and eight hundred picked men-at-arms, on horseback: with this last were included, to break the English line, Messire William de Saveuses, with his brothers Hector and Phelippe, Ferry de Mailly, Aliaume de Gaspammes, Allain de Vendôsme, Lamont de Launoy, and many more. The main battalion was composed of the same number of Knights, Esquires, and archers as the advanced guard, commanded by the Dukes of Bar and Alençon, the counts de Nevers, de Vaudemont, de Blaumont, de Salines, de Grand-pré, and de Roussy. The rear guard consisted of the surplus of the men-at-arms, under the orders of the Counts de Marle, de Dampmartin, de Fauquembergh, and the Lord de Louroy, Captain of Ardres, who had led thither those of the frontiers of Boulonois. When these battalions were all drawn up, it was a grand sight to view; and they were, according to the calculation on seeing them full *six times the number of the English.* After they had been thus arranged, they seated themselves by companies as near to their own banners as they could, to wait the coming of the enemy; and while they refreshed themselves with food, they made up all differences that might have before existed between them. In this state they remained until between nine and ten o'clock in the morning, no way doubting, from their numbers, that the English could not escape them. Some, however, of the wisest of them had their fears, and dreaded the event of an open battle. The English on that morning, perceiving that the French made no advances to attack them, refreshed themselves with meat and drink. After calling on the divine aid against the

and pray earnestly for the King and his men in the before-mentioned villages and closes, with Friday, 25th Oct.

French, who despised them, they left Maisoncelle, and sent some of their scouts in the rear of the village of Azincourt, where, not finding any men-at-arms, in order to alarm the French, they set fire to a barn and house belonging to the priory of St. George of Hesdin. On the other hand, the King of England dispatched about two hundred archers to the rear of his army, that the French might not see them. They entered Tramecourt in a meadow near the van of the French, there remained quietly until it was proper time for them to use their bows. The rest of the English remained with King Henry, and were shortly after drawn up in battle array by Sir Thomas Erpingham; a Knight grown grey with age, who placed the archers in front, and the men-at-arms behind them. He then formed two wings of men-at-arms and archers, and posted the horses with the baggage in the rear. Each archer planted a stake before him sharpened at both ends. Sir Thomas, in the name of the King, exhorted them all most earnestly to fight in defence of their lives, and thus saying he rode along the ranks. When all was prepared, he flung into the air a baton which he held in his hand, crying out, 'Nestrocque!'[a] and then dismounted, as the King and the others had done When the English saw Sir Thomas throw up his baton, they set up a loud shout, to the very great astonishment of the French. The English seeing the enemy not inclined to advance, marched slowly towards them in order of battle, and again uttered a very loud shout, when they stopped to recover their breath. The archers, who were hidden in the field, re-echoed these shoutings, at the same time vigorously discharging their bows, while the English army kept advancing upon the French. The archers, amounting to at least thirteen thousand, first let off a shower of arrows with all their might, and at as great a distance as possible: they were, for the most part, without any armour, and in doublets, with their hosen loose, and hatchets or swords hanging to their girdles: some were bare footed and without hats. The Princes with the King of England were the Duke of York, his uncle, the Earls of Dorset, Oxford, Suffolk, the Earl Marshal, the Earl of Quint [Kent,] the Lords Cambre, Beaumont, Willoughby, and Cornwall, and many other celebrated Barons of England. When the French observed the English thus advance, they drew up each under his banner, with his bacinet on his head: they were, at the same time, admonished by the Constable, and others of the Princes, to confess their sins with sincere contrition, and to fight boldly. The English loudly sounded their trumpets as they approached; and the French stooped to prevent the arrows entering through the vizors of their bacinets; thus the distance was now but small between the two armies, although the French had retired some paces: before, however, the general attack commenced, numbers of the French were slain and severely wounded by the English archers. When the English reached them they were so close and crowded, that excepting some of the front line, who had cut their lances in two that they might be stronger, they could not raise their hands. The division under Sir Clignet de Brabant, of eight hundred Monstrelet

[a] Hollingshed says, "his throwing up his truncheon was for a signal to the archers posted in the field at Tramecourt to commence the battle."

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directions to wait till the end of the battle; for the French plunderers had already on every side

Monstrelet

men-at-arms, who were intended to break through the English archers, were reduced to seven score, who vainly attempted it. True it is, that Sir William de Saveuses, who had been also ordered on this service, quitted his troop, thinking they would follow him, to attack the English, but he was shot dead from his horse. The others had their horses so severely handled by the archers, that they galloped on the advanced guard, and threw it into the utmost confusion, breaking the line in many places. The horses were become unmanageable, so that horses and riders were tumbling on the ground, and the whole army was thrown into disorder, and forced back on some lands that had been just sown with corn. Others, from fear of death, fled; and this caused so universal a panic in the army that great part followed the example. The English took instant advantage of the disorder in the advanced guard, and, throwing down their bows, fought lustily with swords, hatchets, mallets and bill-hooks, slaying all before them, till they came to the second battalion, which had been posted in the rear of the first; and the archers were closely followed by King Henry and his men-at-arms. Duke Anthony of Brabant, who had just arrived in obedience to the summons of the King of France, threw himself with a small company (for, to make greater haste, he had pushed forward, leaving the greater part of his men behind,) between the advanced guard and the main body; but he was soon killed by the English, who kept advancing and slaying without mercy all that opposed them, and thus destroyed the main body. Some were from time to time relieved by their varlets, who carried them off the field; for the English were so intent on fighting, slaying, and making prisoners, that they did not pursue such as fled. The whole rear division being on horseback, witnessing the defeat of the two others, began to fly, excepting some of its leaders. During the heat of the combat the English made several prisoners, and news was brought to King Henry that the French were attacking his rear, and had already captured the greater part of his baggage, and sumpter-horses. This was true, for Robinet de Bournonville, Rifflart de Clamasse, Ysambert d'Azincourt, and some other men-at-arms, with about six hundred peasants, had fallen upon and taken great part of the King's baggage and a number of horses, while the guard were occupied in the battle. This vexed the King very much, for he saw that though the French army had been routed they were collecting on different parts of the plain in large bodies, and he was afraid they would renew the battle. He therefore caused proclamation to be made by sound of trumpet, that every one should put his prisoners to death, to prevent them from aiding the enemy, should the combat be renewed. This caused an instantaneous and general massacre of the French prisoners, for which conduct of Robinet de Bournonville and Ysambart d'Azincourt, they were afterwards punished and imprisoned a very long time by Duke John of Burgundy, notwithstanding they had made a present to the Count de Charolois, his son, of a most precious sword, ornamented with rich stones and other jewels, that had belonged to the King of England. They made this present, that, in case they should at any time be called to an account for what they had done,

their eyes upon it, with an intention of attacking it as soon as they saw both armies engage; and upon the rear of which, where by the inactivity of the royal vassals the baggage of the King was, Friday, 25th Oct.

the Count might protect them. The Count de Marle, the Count de Fauquembergh, the Lords de Louvroy and de Chin, had with some difficulty retained about six hundred men-at-arms, with whom they made a gallant charge on the English; but it availed nothing, for they were all killed or made prisoners. Monstrelet

There were other small bodies of the French on different parts of the plain; but they were soon routed, slain, or taken. The conclusion was a complete victory on the part of the King of England, who only lost about sixteen hundred men of all ranks: among the slain was the Duke of York, uncle to the King. On the eve of this battle, and the following morning, before it began, there were upwards of five hundred Knights made by the French. When the King of England found himself master of the field of battle, and that the French, excepting such as had been killed or taken, were flying in all directions, he made the circuit of the plain, attended by his Princes; and while his men were employed in stripping the dead, he called to him the French Herald, Montjoye King at Arms, and with him many other French and English Heralds, and said to them, 'It is not we who have made this great slaughter, but the Omnipotent God, and, as we believe, for a punishment of the sins of the French.' He then asked to whom the victory belonged, to him, or to the King of France? Montjoye replied, 'that the victory must be attributed to him, and not to the King of France.' The King then asked the name of the castle he saw near him; he was told it was called Azincourt. 'Then,' said he, 'since all battles should bear the name of the fortress nearest to the spot where they were fought, this battle shall from henceforth, and for ever, bear the name of AZINCOURT.' The English remained a considerable time on the field, and seeing they were free from their enemies, and that night was approaching, they returned in a body to Maisoncelle, where they had lodged the preceding night: they again fixed their quarters there, carrying with them many of their wounded. After they had quitted the field of battle, several of the French, half dead with wounds, crawled away into an adjoining wood, where many expired, and some went to villages and other places as well as they could. On the morrow, very early, King Henry dislodged with his army and all his prisoners from Maisoncelle, and again went to the field of battle; all the French they found there alive were put to death or made prisoners. Then, pursuing their road toward the sea-coast, they marched away: three parts of the army were on foot sorely fatigued with their efforts in the late battle, and greatly distressed by famine and other wants. In this manner did the King of England return, without any hindrance, to Calais, rejoicing at his great victory, leaving the French in great grief and distress at the loss they had suffered." He then gives the names of the French Lords and gentlemen who were slain in the battle, and which will be found in a subsequent page: and says, The numbers of persons, including Princes, Knights, Esquires, and persons of every rank, slain that day, amounted

Friday, 25th Oct. they did fall as soon as the battle began, carrying off the royal treasures, the sword and crown, with other jewels, and all the household stuff.[a] And when the King thought that almost all the Monstrelet to upward of ten thousand, according to the estimates of heralds and other eminent people who are deserving of credence. The bodies of the greater part were carried away by their friends after the departure of the English, and buried where it was agreeable to them. Of these ten thousand, it was supposed only sixteen hundred were varlets, the rest all gentlemen; for it was found on counting the Princes, one hundred and six score banners were killed. During the battle, the Duke of Alençon, with the assistance of his followers, most valiantly broke through the English line, and advanced, fighting, near to the King, insomuch that he wounded and struck down the Duke of York: then King Henry, seeing this, stepped forth and leaned a little to raise him, when the Duke of Alençon gave him a blow on his bacinet, that struck off part of his crown. The King's body guards on this surrounded him, when, seeing he could no way escape death, he lifted up his hand, and said to the King, 'I am the Duke of Alençon, and yield myself to you;' but, as the King was about to receive his pledge, he was put to death by the guards. At this period, the Lord de Longny, Marshal of France, as I have before said, was hastening with six hundred men-at-arms attached to King Louis, to join the French, and was within one league of them, when he met many wounded and more running away, who bade him return, for that the Lords of France were all slain or made prisoners by the English. In consequence, Longny, grieved at heart, went to the King of France at Rouen. It was supposed, that about fifteen hundred Lords and gentlemen were this day made prisoners: the names of the principal are, Charles Duke of Orleans, the Duke of Bourbon, the Count d'Eu, the Count de Vendôsme, the Count de Richemont, Messire James de Harcourt, John de Craon Lord of Dommarts, the Lord of Fossoux, the Lord Humieres, the Lord de Roye, the Lord de Canny, Boors Quieret Lord of Heuchin, Peter Quieret Lord of Hamecourt, the Lord de Legne in Hainault, the Lord de Noyelle, surnamed the White Knight, Baudo his son, the young Lord of Inchy, John de Vaucort, Actis de Brimeu, Jennet de Poix, the eldest son and heir to the Lord de Legne, Gilbert de Launoy, the Lord d'Ancob in Ternois."—Ed. 1595, pp. 223-231.

De Gaucourt. [a] The amount given in the texts of the jewels, &c. which were then stolen is corroborated by the Sire de Gaucourt's *Narrative* in the APPENDIX. He says, that having been told by Henry that he lost some of his jewels at the Battle of Agincourt, and that it would be very desirable if, through Gaucourt's assistance, they could be recovered, he accordingly exerted himself to the utmost to recover them; but they were dispersed, and in many person's hands. He, however, did all in his power to get back the King's crown which was in his coffers, and a cross of gold with very rich stones, in which was a piece of the true cross half a foot in length, and the cross piece which was more than a full inch wide; together with the [query

baggage had arrived in the rear, invoking the name of Jesus, to whom bows every knee of things in heaven, of things on earth, and of things under the earth, and also of the glorious Virgin, and St. George, he moved towards the enemy, who then advanced; but I who write this, sitting on horse-back among the baggage in the rear of Friday, 25th Oct.

sword] which is used when the Kings of England are crowned, and many other things which the King was very anxious to recover, particularly the deeds of his chancery. Gaucourt succeeded in recovering the said seals and brought them to England, when he told the King what difficulty he had experienced in obtaining the release of some prisoners and the restoration of the before mentioned jewels. A document in the *Fœdera*, vol. ix. pp. 356-7, gives the following description of the plate lost on this occasion. The articles in question evidently belonged to the King, and were probably carried to France for his personal use, or for that of his household. It is an acquittance from the King, dated at Westminster, 1st June 1415, to Roger Leche, late treasurer of the King's household, John Haregrove, servant of the King's pantry, the Bishop of Norwich, Simon Bache, formerly treasurer of the King's household, and several other persons, for the articles hereafter enumerated, which were in their custody, but lost at the Battle of Agincourt. De Gaucourt. Fœdera.

A saltcellar of gold, enamelled with links and collars.

A long serpentine,[a] weighing 2 lb. 3 oz. troy weight, valued at £16 a pound, £46 13*s*. 4*d*.

Thirteen spoons of white silver, marked with a small crown, weighing according to the same weight, 1 lb. 3½ oz., which at 30*s*. the pound, and at 2*s*. 6*d*. an ounce, is 38*s*. 9*d*.

Three saltcellars of silver gilt with covers, with the tops in the form of bells, marked with swans enamelled, weighing 7 lb. 7 oz. at 60*s*. a pound and 5*s*. the ounce, is £22 15*s*.

A spoon of white silver, marked with a small crown, weighing one ounce, value 2*s*. 6*d*.

A spoon of gold not marked, weighing 2 oz. 7 pennyweights, 1 ob. value at 26*s*. 8*d*. an ounce, and 16*d*. the pennyweight, is 63*s*. 4*d*.

Six spoons of white silver not marked, weighing 6¼ oz. at 2*s*. 6*d*. an ounce, 15*s*. 17½*d*.

Seven spoons of white silver not marked, weighing 6¾ oz. at 2*s*. 6*d*. an ounce, 16*s*. 10½*d*.

A salt cellar of gold of morask work, garnished with two amethysts, with a Scotch pebble on the top, and with many little garnets red and green, value £10 in money.

[a] *Ducange* explains 'serpentine' to be a precious stone, called 'serpentine:' and cites this example in illustration of the use of the word.

Friday, 25th Oct. the battle, and the other priests who were there, did then and whilst the conflict lasted, humble our souls before God; and remembering which at that time the Church was reading, we said in our hearts, 'Remember us, Oh Lord! Our enemies are gathered together and boast in their might; shatter their strength, and disperse them, that they may know that there is none other that fighteth for us but only thou our God.' Also with fear and trembling in our eyes, we cried unto heaven, beseeching God to have compassion upon us and the crown of England, and not to suffer the prayers and tears which the English churchmen had poured out, and probably at that hour were pouring out for us in their accustomed processions, to become fruitless; but that he would admit them to the bosom of his graciousness, and not permit our King, devoted to the worship of God, the welfare of the church, and peace of the realm, to be destroyed by the enemy; but rather in the declared munificence of his mercy, would now and hereafter exalt and mercifully deliver us from these perilous events as from others.

The Battle And now coming within reach of the enemy, the horsemen of the French posted along the flanks, began to attack our archers on both sides of the army.[a] But by the will of God, they were

Elmham. [a] "The night being spent, but *Titan* not yet risen above the horizon, the dawn of Friday on which the martyrdom of the blessed Crispin and Crispinian is celebrated, after masses were heard the King neglected not to lead out his troops into the field, and thinking that his adversaries would

quickly compelled amidst showers of darts to retreat, and to fly to the hindermost ranks; with

The Battle of Elmham.

be more engaged in fighting than plundering, he ordered the horses of his men, and whatever other things his army had brought with them except their arms, to be left in the village in which they were quartered in the night, and entrusted them to the custody of a few soldiers. But that his army, because they were very small in comparison with the French, might be able to fight without a wide separation, he arrayed it for battle in this manner. To the middle battalion, which he himself commanded, and in which, under the mercy of God, he proposed to fight, he assigned a convenient place, about the middle of the field, so that it might come in contact with the middle battalion of the enemy. On his right, at a very little distance, he placed the advanced guard, and joined to it the wing stationed on his right. On the King's left was the rear guard of the army, to which the left wing was joined in like manner. These being so arrayed, the Providence of the divine favour was manifestly shown, which provided for so small an army so fit a field, enclosed within hedges and brakes, and with coppices or hedges on the sides, to protect them from being surrounded by the enemy's ambuscades. The King was clad in secure and very bright armour: he wore on his head a splendid helmet, with a large crest, and encompassed with a crown of gold and jewels, and on his body a surcoat, with the arms of England and France; from which a celestial splendor issued on the one side from three golden flowers, planted in an azure field; on the other, from three golden leopards, sporting in a ruby field; sitting on a noble horse as white as snow having also horses in waiting royally decorated with the richest trappings, his army were strongly excited to martial deeds. The Peers also, on the King's side, were arrayed with coats of their arms, as it became such persons about to be engaged in conflict. And when the King heard some wishing that whatever Peers of the realm of England, who were well-affected thereto were present at this affair, he firmly replied: 'Truly I would not, that the number should be increased by one single person. For if in numbers we were equal to, or perhaps stronger than our enemies, and they were delivered over into our own bands by the chances of war, our weak judgments would attribute the victory to the greatness of our strength, and so due praise would by no means be rendered. But if, from God's manifold chastisement of our crimes, the divine sentence should determine to deliver us into the enemy's hands, (the contrary to which I earnestly hope) certainly then our army would be too great to be exposed, which God forbid, to so great a misfortune. But if the divine compassion should deign to deliver up so many adversaries to such a trifling number of fighting men, we should think so great victory certainly bestowed by God upon ourselves, and to return to him, not to our number the praise. Behold! he who is splendidly and safely defended, and armed in body with bodily arms, is protected in mind much more gloriously by stable hope and unbroken fortitude."—"The enemy, disdaining the sluggishness and inactivity of the King's army, endeavoured to prepare their numerous bat-

The Battle the exception of a very few who ran between the archers and the woods, yet not without slaughter

Elmham. talions in proper order of battle. They arrayed their troops after their own manner, as the King had disposed his: yet the breadth of the plain was not sufficient to reduce so numerous a people into fit martial array. For the English army, through all its fronts, was scarcely strengthened with ranks of four men, one behind another crossways, all the French posts were strengthened with ranks of twenty or more fighting men, one behind another, throughout. Also in the outside flank of their army were placed a thousand soldiers, to break through the ranks of the English with the impetuosity of their horses; also certain 'saxivora,' [or guns] which might disperse the English when about to fight, or at least put them out of order, were in like manner placed along the flanks of the army. But the number of standards and other ensigns, which, fastened on the points of lances, and rustling in the air with the wind, were displayed in the French army, seemed to exceed the lances in the English army; neither in times past, at least that can easily be recalled to memory, was there ever such an immense multitude in the French dominions, of so many noble and mighty men, so strongly and splendidly equipped. Also the noble men of the adverse party thought themselves so secure of victory, that some, through great hurry, left their servants and others, who are generally required in such circumstances, behind them, and thinking they were hastening to victory and honor, rushed suddenly to defeat and death. Amongst whom was the Duke of Brabant, who, not having brought his standards, formed one of a banner that was hanging to a trumpet, and was slain in the conflict. The troops being thus drawn up over the fields on both sides, and being distant from each other the space of about three bow shots, each army waited for the other, but neither moved towards the other for a long space of time. Yet the French cavalry putting themselves a little forward into the field, were at the King's command, forced to retreat precipitately into the army, by some of the King's archers: also certain French Barons, according to a desire they expressed, came into the King's presence, and without being able to ascertain any thing the King purposed to do, were ordered quickly to depart into their own army. Now the King considering that a great part of the short day was already past, and firmly believing that the French were not inclined to move from their stations, consulted the most experienced officers of his army, whether he should advance with his troops, in the order in which they stood, towards the enemy, who refused to come towards him; who having fully considered the circumstances of so important an affair, prudently determined that the King should march with his army towards the enemy, and charge them in the name of God. For they considered that the English army, very much wearied with hunger, diseases and marching, was not likely to obtain any refreshment in the enemy's country, and that the longer they remained there, so much the more would they be subjected to the effects of debility and exhaustion: on the contrary, the army of the enemy situated amongst friends, readily obtained whatever was convenient

and wounds: yea, with the exception also of a great many, both horses and horsemen, who were arrested in their flight by the stakes and sharp arrows, so that they could not escape far. But the enemy's cross-bow-men, who were be- The Battle of Elmham.

for them, and through delay, gathered fresh and increased strength. Therefore the King's advisers finally concluded that delay was injurious to the English, but advantageous to the French. Notwithstanding the King thought it difficult and hazardous to depart from his position, yet to avoid greater dangers, with the greatest intrepidity he set his army an example how they should direct their march towards the enemy, preserving however the order of their former array. He commanded that his own chaplains, and all the priests of his army should be employed in prayer, and that the heralds should diligently attend to their own duties alone, without using arms. Without more delay both the men-at-arms, without caring for their burdensome arms, and the archers leaving behind them in the field their sharp stakes, which they had before prepared in case of meeting the French horsemen, all having bended the knee, and taken particles of earth upon their mouths, with a warlike clamour penetrating the skies, and wonderful impetuosity intrepidly flew along the plains, and shewed by their actions how much they were animated by courage. When they had approached towards the enemy's ranks, to the distance of twenty paces, not far from AGINCOURT, and the sounds of the trumpets rending the very air, had roused the minds of the warriors to battle, the enemy now first stirring himself, proceeded to meet the English. Immediately the battle commenced with such fury on one side, that at the first attack of such brave soldiers, by the dire shock of lances, and impetuous strokes of swords and other weapons, the joints of their strong armour were violently broken, and the men in the first ranks on both sides inflicted deadly wounds. But on the other side, the warlike bands of archers, with their strong and numerous volleys, darkened the air, shedding as a cloud laden with a shower, an intolerable multitude of piercing arrows, and inflicting wounds on the horses, either threw the French horsemen who were arrayed to charge them to the ground, or forced them to retreat, and so defeated their dreadful purpose. In this deadly conflict, amongst other things it is to be remembered, that that brightly shining Titan of Kings so much exposed his precious person to every chance of war, that he thundered upon his adversaries impetuous horrors and intolerable assaults. Nor did the fury of Mars grant to the royal dignity an exemption from hostile assaults and heavy blows, for from the crown encircling the King's helmet a certain piece was beaten off; yea, if the Prince himself had been of inferior rank amongst the combatants, yet he would on account of his extraordinary gallantry, have deserved to be crowned with a laurel of honor above others. Also the noble Duke of Gloucester, the King's brother, pushing forward perhaps too

The Battle hind the men-at-arms and on the flanks, after the first but too hasty discharge, in which they hurt very few, retreated, from the fear of our bows. And when the men-at-arms on both sides had nearly reached each other, the flanks of both

Elmham. vigorously on his horse into the conflict, was grievously wounded and cast down to the earth by the blows of the French; for whose protection the King being interested, bravely leapt against the enemy, defended him with his own body, and snatched and guarded him from the enemy, sustaining dangers scarcely possible to be borne. It happened also, that this most victorious Prince, with that part of the army which he himself commanded, first conquered his adversaries, who being dispersed, when the King had turned aside with his soldiers to the aid of his advanced battalion, he saw before him another numerous battalion of French preparing themselves in the field for battle, against whom it was necessary for the King to march with his followers. Yet after a while all the King's battalions, both foremost and hindmost, and each wing having overthrown their enemies, became victorious; and the English already wearied, and for the most part destitute of arms fit to charge with, fearing on account of the French arraying themselves for battle, to commence a new conflict, lest the persons they had taken should rush upon them in the fight, murdered many of them, although noble, with the sword. But the King commanded, by a message of heralds to those French, who as we have said above, still occupied the fields, that they should either come to battle, or speedily withdraw from his sight, knowing that if they should again array themselves for a new fight, that both they and the prisoners yet remaining would perish without mercy, with the direst revenge that the English could inflict. Then, dreading the effect of so severe a resolution, all the adversaries confused with fear, shame, and grief, retreated with one accord from the field. And the magnanimous King by the divine mercy gained a glorious triumph, having overcome his enemies, remaining in the field in which the battle was fought, was gratefully mindful to return thanks most devoutly to the bestower of so great a victory. And because on the festival of St. Crispin and Crispinian so great a victory was given him, he heard mention of them in one of his masses every day during his life. In this very great battle on the French side, the Duke of Alençon, the Duke of Barre, the Archbishop of Sinonenois, as it is said, the Duke of Brabant, the Earl of Eu, the Earl of Demvart, the Count of Marle, the Earl of Grauntpre, the Earl of Sauran, the Earl of Daufonment, the Lord de la Byrt, and of others between nine and ten thousand fighting men; but there were taken the Duke of Orleans, the Duke of Bourbon, Arthur de Bretagne, the Earl of Vandôsme, the Earl of Ewe, John de Maugre, called Burcigald. But on the part of the English, the Duke of York, the Earl of Suffolk, and of others about a hundred were killed."—*Elmham*, chap. xxvi-xxvii. pp. 59-69.

armies (viz. ours and the adversaries') immerged into the woods on each side. But when the French nobility, who at first approached in full front, had nearly joined battle, either from fear of the arrows, which by their impetuosity pierced through the sides and beavers of their bacinets, or that they might more speedily penetrate our ranks to the banners, they divided themselves into three troops, charging our lines in the three places where the banners were: and interming-ling their spears closely, they assaulted our men with so ferocious an impetuosity, that they com-pelled them to retreat almost at spears length;[a] The Battle.

[a] *Des Ursins*, p. 315, gives two accounts of the battle, one of which differs in nothing from the writers who have been cited: the other is as follows, "On our people approaching the English, they found the ground ploughed, and softened by the rain which had fallen in that week, in consequence of which they had difficulty in proceeding. And when they expected to find 400 horse-men, who had been appointed the day before to break the English line, they did not find forty, but when they came near the English, not one of our archers or cross-bow-men shot either arrow or *vire*. It was eight in the morning, and our people had the sun in their eyes, the better to bear which, and to avoid the arrows of the English, they bent their heads to the ground. When the English saw the manner in which they came towards them, and in consequence of which our people did not perceive them until just before they struck them with their hatchets, and the archers who were behind in ambush assailed them with arrows in the rear. Moreover the horsemen which the English had placed in the wood before mentioned, rushed on them in crowds, and came from behind on our second line, which was at the distance of two lances from the first; and the English horsemen uttered such a great and frightful cry that they terrified all our people, so that those of the second line took to flight, and all those who were in the first line, Lords and others were routed, and all were either killed or taken. And on that day the King of England gained the victory, which was the most disgraceful event that had ever happened to the kingdom of France." Des Ursins

Pierre de Fenin's account is very similar to that of *St. Remy* before cited; hence the following passages alone require insertion: "In truth, the French were beyond comparison much stronger in numbers than the English, and had among them a much nobler assembly. The French army was composed of three lines, the advanced guard in which they placed the greater part of their nobility, and the flower of their army; a very strong main body; and a rear Fenin.

The Battle

and then we who were assigned to clerical warfare, upon beholding it, fell upon our faces in veneration before the throne of God, crying out in bitterness of spirit for God still to remember us and the crown of England, and by the grace

Fenin.

guard." Henry disposed his forces into an advanced guard with a strong body, and placed all the archers in before, each having a sharp stake resting in the ground. He corroborates *St. Remy's* statement, that a negociation took place on the day of battle. "On that day there was a great conference [pourparler] between the two armies, and King Henry was in great dread that day, but they could not agree, in consequence of which the battle took place. There came the Lord de Hely, who had been a long time prisoner in England, who fully believed that the French would have been successful, but it happened quite otherwise," &c. *Fenin* agrees with *Monstrelet* in stating, that the individuals who led the attack upon Henry's baggage were much blamed, and were afterwards punished by the Duke of Burgundy. The only remaining passage deserving of notice, is his account of the loss of the two armies; he says, that "three or four thousand of the French were killed on the field, and that a great many were taken prisoners, whilst Henry lost only from four to five hundred," pp. 459, 460.

Berry.

The statement of *Berry*, first herald to Charles VI. in his Chronicle, excepting in the parts which are extracted, is important only for his description of the extent and arrangement of the two armies, as he merely corroborates the statements of chroniclers more particularly with respect to the negociation with Henry before the battle. On several points his account must however be received with caution, for it is contradicted by every other writer; but as he was contemporary with the period, it could not with propriety be omitted. "In the right wing was the Comte de Richemont, who had under him the Viscomte de Belliere, and le Sire de Cembourc, and 600 men-at-arms. The left wing was led by the Comte de Vendôsme, great Master of the King's Household, with whom were the Baron d'Jury, le Sire de Bacqueville, le Sire d'Aumont, le Sire de la Roche-guyon, and all the chamberlains, esquires, cup-bearers, 'pannetiers,' and other officers of the King, and 600 men-at-arms. In the advanced guard were the Sire d'Albert, Constable of France, and Bouciqualt, Marshal, with 3000 men-at-arms, besides which there was the Duke de Bourbon, who had 1200 men-at-arms; and also the Duke of Orleans, with 600 men-at-arms, which the Sire de Gaules commanded for him. In the main body was the Duke Edward de Bar, with 600 men-at-arms; the Comte de Nevers, with 12,000 men-at-arms; and also the Comte d'Eu and 300 men-at-arms. Moreover there were, Messire Robert de Bar, Comte d'Aumalle, with 400 men-at-arms. There were likewise present the Comte de Vaudemont, brother of the Duke of Lorraine, with 300 men-at-arms, the Comte de Roussy, and de Braine with 200 men-at-arms. John Monseigneur de Bar, brother of the Duke of Bar, with 200 men-at-arms, and the Duke de Brabant, brother of the Duke of Burgundy, who brought few followers, but all the Barons of

of his supreme bounty, to deliver us from this iron furnace and dire death which we had hitherto escaped. Nor did God forget the multitude of the many prayers and supplications offered up in England, through which, it is piously believed, our men quickly regaining strength, and making Hainault who were there, placed themselves under his banner. In that assembly of the French were full 10,000 men-at-arms, of which the greater part were Knights and Esquires. The King of England had in his army, with those of his blood and lineage, 1500 Knights and Esquires, with from 16 to 18,000 archers. He found the French in slight order and small numbers, for some were gone to warm themselves, and others to walk, or were causing their horses to be fed, not thinking that the English had hardihood enough to attack them, but the English seeing them in this disorder, boldly assailed and very easily defeated them." According to this writer "the English lost the Duke of York and at least three or four hundred others, and the French had slain in the field about four thousand Knights and Esquires, besides five or six hundred others."—p. 430.

The Battle of Agincourt.

The account of the battle by the contemporary biographer of the Comte de Richemont, afterwards Duke of Brittany, who was there taken prisoner, is chiefly remarkable for the brevity with which he speaks of so important an event. It contains little of interest, besides the anecdote of the Duke of Clarence, who, *Walsyngham* says, had returned to England from Harfleur, and the assertion that two individuals were dressed to personate Henry, "They assembled the army in a place called Agincourt, which was too narrow for so many men to fight, and there were a great number of cavalry on our side, as well Lombards as Gascons, who ought to have attacked the English wings, but when they felt the arrows come so thick upon them, they took to flight, and broke our line in such a manner, that it was with great difficulty it could be formed again before the English were close upon it. The moment the line was formed, the battle commenced with great vigour; even the Duke of Clarence, brother of the King of England, was struck down with the blow of a hatchet, and the King his brother put his foot upon him, fearing that he might be killed, and received such a blow on his crown, that he fell on his knee. Two others who were dressed exactly like the King were slain, and the King's uncle the Duke of Exeter, was killed, with many others. Nevertheless, in a few hours, our people were defeated, slain, taken, or put to flight, who were 10,000 men-at-arms; and the King of England had from 11 to 12,000 fighting men. There were taken the Lords of Orleans, Bourbon, and Richmont who was drawn from under the dead, and slightly wounded; he was recognised by his surcoat of arms, which was bloody, with two or three of the slain upon him. Then he was brought to the King of England, who was more cheerful than any other person."

Biographer of the Count de Richemont

Memoires d'Artur III. Duc de Bretagne, pp, 239-240.

The Battle a brave resistance, repulsed the enemy, until they recovered the lost ground. Then the battle raged very fiercely,[a] and our archers pierced the flanks with their arrows and continually renewed the conflict; and when the arrows were exhausted, seizing up axes, poles, swords, and sharp spears which were lying about, they prostrated, dispersed, and stabbed the enemy.[b] For

Livius. [a] "The battle lasted three hours. The King exposed himself to the greatest danger, and fought like a lion. When Humfrey, Duke of Gloucester, his brother, was wounded in the bowels with a dagger, and thrown to the ground with his feet towards the enemy, he stood between his legs, and defended him until he could be carried off the field."—*Titus Livius*, p. 20.

Walsyngham. [b] *Walsyngham* observes, "that the English snatched the axes out of the hands of the French, and butchered them like cattle with them."

St. Remy. *St. Remy's* relation, from the minuteness of his details, and especially from his having been present, is peculiarly deserving of attention. "After the deputies had returned with their people, the King of England appointed an old Knight, called Sir Thomas Erpingham, to draw up unobserved the archers and to place them in front, and he exhorted all on the part of the King to fight valiantly; then he rode before the archers, and after arraying them, he threw a baton which he held in his hand in the air, and then dismounted and placed himself in the King's battalion, who had also dismounted opposite to his people, with his banner carried before him. Then the English suddenly began to march, uttering a very loud cry which much astonished the French; and when the English saw that the French did not approach, they marched slowly towards them in fine order, and again uttered a great cry, when they stopped and took breath. Then the English archers, who were as I have said full ten thousand, began to shoot at random against the French, as far off as they could shoot with their utmost strength, the greater part of which archers were without armour in their doublets, their hosen loosened, having hatchets and axes, or long swords, hanging from their girdles, and some with their feet naked; some wore humettes, or caps of boiled leather, or wicker work crossed over with iron. Then the French seeing the English coming towards them, placed themselves in order of battle, each under his banner, and wearing his bacinet. The Constable, the Marshal, and chief personages exhorted their men to fight well and boldly. The trumpets and clarions of the English in their advance made a great noise, the French began to bend their heads, especially those who had no shelter from the arrows of the English, which they shot so fiercely that none dare approach them, nor dared the French shew themselves; and thus a slight rencontre took place with them, and they made them give way a little. But before they came in contact many of the French were severely wounded by

the mighty and merciful God, who is always wonderful in his works, who would shew his mercy to us, and who was pleased that the crown

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the English arrows, and when they had nearly met, they were so pressed by each other that they could not lift their arms to attack their enemies, excepting some who were in the front, who thrust on them with their lances, which they had cut to render them stronger and stiffer, so that they might be able to get nearer to their enemies The Constable, the Marshal of the French, formed a body of from 1000 to 1200 men-at-arms, of which half were to have gone by Azincourt, and the others by Tramecourt, with the view of breaking the wings of the English archers, but when they came near them, they did not find there more than eight score men-at-arms; among them was Messire Clignet de Brabant, who had the especial direction of this attempt; and Messire Guillaume de Saveuse a very valiant Knight, who advanced before the others, and was near to Azincourt with full 300 lances, who threw themselves on the English archers, who had their sharp stakes fixed before them, but the ground was so soft that the said stakes fell, and they all returned, excepting three men-at-arms, of whom Messire Guillaume was one, to whom it unluckily happened, that by their horses falling on the stakes they were thrown to the ground among the archers, and were immediately killed; the others, or the greater part of them, with all their horses, from the fear of the arrows, returned among the French advanced guard, in which they caused great confusion, breaking and exposing it in many places, and made them retire to new sown ground, for their horses were so wounded by arrows that they were unmanageable. And thus the advance guard being thrown into disorder, the men-at-arms fell without number, and their horses took to flight behind their enemies; following which example, numerous parties of the French fled. Soon afterwards, the English archers perceiving this disorder of the advanced guard, quitted their stakes, threw away their bows and arrows and seizing their swords, axes, and other weapons, sallied out upon them, and hastening to the place where the fugitives came from, killed and disabled the French, so that they at last even reached the advanced guard, and met with little or no resistance; and the English cutting right and left, made their way to the second line, which was in the rear of the advanced guard, and then pushed within it, with the King of England in person, and his followers. Then the Duke Anthony of Brabant arrived in great haste, who had been sent by the King of France, though with few followers, for his people could not keep up with him, in consequence of his great eagerness to be present. He took one of the banners from his trumpeters, and cutting a hole in the middle, made a 'cotte d'armes' of it; but he had no sooner arrived than he was immediately put to death by the English. Then the battle began, and an immense number of the French were killed, who but slightly defended themselves, for in consequence of the horsemen, the French line was broken. Then the English charged the French with greater force, overthrowing the two first lines, and in many places cruelly destroying and slaying without mercy.

St. Remy.

The Battle of England should, under our gracious King his soldier and that handful, continue invincible as of old, as soon as the armies were thus joined,

St. Remy. Among so many some were saved by the valets who led the horses beyond the lines, for the English were occupied in fighting, slaying, and making prisoners, and consequently they did not pursue any. And then all the rear guard, being still mounted, seeing the fate of the two first lines took to flight, excepting some of the commanders and leaders. During the battle the English took many prisoners; and then news came to the King of England that the French attacked them in the rear, and that they had already taken his prisoners and jewels, which was true, for one named Robinet de Bournonville, Rifflart de Plamasse, Ysembart de Agincourt, and some other men-at-arms, accompanied by about 600 peasants, went to the baggage of the King of England, and took the jewels and other things, with a great number of English horses, whilst those who were appointed to guard them were engaged in the battle, at which pillage the King of England was much annoyed. Then following up his victory, and seeing that his enemies were beaten, and that no more opposition could be offered to him, they began to make prisoners on all sides, all of whom they believed to be rich, and in truth so they were, for they were all great Lords who were in that battle; and when they were taken, those who had prisoners entirely disarmed them. Then happened an important circumstance, for a great assemblage of the rear guard, in which were many French, Bretons, Gascons, Poitevins and others, who had been put to flight, and with them an abundance of banners and ensigns, evinced a disposition to engage and to march in order of battle. When the English perceived them, the King commanded that every one should kill his prisoner, but those who had captured them would not do so, because they had only taken those for whom they expected a great ransom. As soon as the King was informed of the fact, he appointed a gentleman with two hundred archers, to kill all the prisoners; and the said Esquire so executed the King's orders, that it was a most lamentable thing, for all those noblemen of France were there killed in cold blood, and cut in pieces, heads and faces, which was a fearful sight to see. When that cursed party of French, who thus caused the murder of those noble Knights, saw that the English were prepared to receive and fight them, they all took to flight, and each saved himself who could; and of those who escaped, the greater part were mounted, but of those who were on foot, a great many were killed. When the King of England clearly perceived that he had gained the victory over his adversaries, he thanked our Lord with a good heart, and well had he cause, for of his people there were killed in the field not more than about sixteen hundred men of all ranks, among whom were the Duke of York, his great uncle, and the Earl of Oxford, [Suffolk,] and truly, the day before when they were drawn up in order of battle, there were made five hundred Knights or more. Afterwards the King of England finding himself victorious on the field, and, as is said, all the French gone, excepting those who were prisoners or lying dead, he called some Princes

and the battle began, increased our strength, The Battle
which had before been debilitated and wasted for
want of victuals, took away our terrors, and gave
us a fearless heart. Never had our elders seen the
English more daringly and intrepidly, or volun-
tarily charge their enemies; and the very same
just judge who would smite the haughty multi-
tude of the enemy with the bolt of vengeance,
cast them away from his face, broke up their
power, their bow, buckler, sword, and battle.

to him on the ground where the battle had taken place, and when he had viewed St. Remy.
it, he inquired the name of a castle which he saw near him, to which they replied that it was called 'Azincourt,' then said the King, 'as all battles ought to bear the name of the nearest fortress to where they occur, this shall now and for ever be called THE BATTLE OF AZINCOURT.' When the King and his nobles had remained there for some time, without any of the French having shewed themselves to attack him, and having been on the field full four hours, as it rained, and as evening was approaching, he retired to his quarters at Maisoncelle; and the archers did nothing after the defeat but strip and disarm the dead, under whom they found many prisoners alive, among whom was the Duke of Orleans, with many others. These archers brought the armour of the slain to their quarters by horse loads, and there also they carried the English who were killed in the battle, among whom were brought the Duke of York and the Earl of Oxford, [Suffolk.] And true it is, that the English did not suffer a great loss excepting of those two. When night came on, and the King of England was informed that so much of the armour had been brought to his quarters, he caused it to be proclaimed in his host, that none should take more than he wanted for his own body, and that they were not yet beyond the reach of the King of France. They boiled the bodies of the Duke of York and the Earl of Oxford, [Suffolk,] to enable them to carry their bones to England. Then the King of England commanded that all the armour, besides that which his soldiers brought with the bodies of such of the English as were slain in the battle, should be put in a house or barn, and there burnt, which was accordingly done. The next day, which was Saturday, the English quitted Maisoncelle very early with all their prisoners, and they went again on the field of battle, where they found some French still living, whom they either killed or made prisoners. The King of England halted on the ground to view the dead, and it was a melancholy thing to see there the nobility, who had lost their lives for their sovereign Lord the King of France, already as naked as they were born." pp. 92 to 96.

The Battle

Nor was it ever seen in former times, or mentioned in chronicles or history, that so many very choice and robust soldiers made so sluggish, so disorderly, so cowardly, or so unmanly a resistance. For they were seized with fear and panic; there were some, even of the more noble of them, as it was reported in the army, who on that day surrendered themselves more than ten times. But no one had leisure to make prisoners of them, and all without distinction of persons, as they were cast down to the ground, were put to death without intermission, either by those who threw them down, or by others that followed after, by what secret judgment of God is not known. For God had smitten them also with another irrecoverable affliction, thus, when some of them in the engagement had been killed, and fell in the front, so great was the undisciplined violence and pressure of the multitude behind, that the living fell over the dead, and others also falling on the living, were slain; so that in three places, where the force and host of our standards were, so great grew the heap of the slain, and of those who were overthrown among them, that our people ascended the heaps, which had increased higher than a man, and butchered the adversaries below with swords, axes, and other weapons. And when at length, in two or three hours, that front battle was perforated and broken up, and the rest were driven to flight, our men began to pull down the heaps, and to separate the living

from the dead, proposing to keep the living as slaves, to be ransomed. But behold, immediately (in what wrath of God is not known,) there arose a clamour, that the hinder battle of the enemy's cavalry, in incomparable and fresh numbers, was repairing its ranks and array, to come upon us who were so few in numbers, and so wearied.[a] The Battle

[a] *Laboureur* after noticing the absurd jealousy of the principal persons in the French army in wishing to be all in the first ranks, as well as their confidence in their numbers, says, "the night before the battle was passed by the French in a most uncomfortable manner, having their feet up to their ancles in mud, and when the day dawned for them to continue their march, and to seek the enemy, they had more need of rest. They had to engage in a plain lately ploughed, which the rain had almost rendered a marsh; and they could scarcely at the moment find four thousand good archers to place at the head, as is the practice; and it is said," he observes, "that many of them were rejected as useless, and were not fit for any service on that occasion. About eleven o'clock in the morning they sent Monsieur Clignet de Brebant, Admiral of France, and Louis Bourredon, Sire de la Gaule, with a thousand brave men-at-arms, well mounted, and carefully picked to skirmish with the archers whom the English had placed in the advanced guard, and to break through them, but their arrows threw them into disorder; they became disheartened, and were so disgracefully rash as to abandon their leader with a few of their companions. They fled with such precipitation, as if pursued by a tempest, carrying terror and fear to the main body, and in the mean time the English having enveloped the remainder of this forlorn hope in a cloud of arrows and quarrels, and dangerously wounded them, they entertained the strongest hopes, and far from losing courage at the sight of our troops, as our young men had foolishly fancied, they advanced with great courage against them to begin the battle, with a unanimous intention of fighting until they died. At the same time the French Dukes and Counts ordered prayers, made the sign of the cross, and having said adieu to each other with many embraces, they began to march, and were followed by their people with boldness and intrepidity, all cheerfully shouting, 'Montjoye,'—'Montjoye.' I have been positively told, that this battle was began with extraordinary ardour, which lasted about half an hour, and that the engagement was very obstinate on both sides, but that our advanced guard which consisted of nearly five thousand men-at-arms, found themselves so close and so crowded, that they had great difficulty in using their swords, and this taught them, that though great numbers are sometimes of much service, there are occasions when they do injury. The infantry were fatigued with over marching, and sunk beneath the weight of their armour, and our army had the sorrow to see two of its principal com- Laboureur.

The Battle And immediately the prisoners, without regard to persons, excepting the Dukes of Orleans and certain other illustrious individuals who were in the King's retinue, and a very few others, either of his own prisoners, or of others who were following him, fell by the sword, lest they should be ruin to us in the coming battle. But after a little while the adversary's ranks, by the will of God, having felt the sharpness of the arrows, as

Laboureur. manders, the Comte of Vendôsme, Cousin to the King, and grand master of his house, and Monsieur Guichard Dauphin, two of the bravest and most experienced of the whole army, and of the most faithful of the King's servants, who led the two wings repulsed without much loss. At length the English gained the victory, through those by whom in our opinion, they ought to have lost it, that is, by their archers and by that terrible flight of arrows, to which the French being too crowded, and besides lightly armed, were exposed; a great number were also wounded by the said archers afterwards using a new kind of weapon unknown to us, which were, leaden mallets, by which they were beaten down. The necessity of conquering or dying, inspired the English with as much fury as courage, and they pierced our line in so many places, that they broke it. Then the French nobility found themselves in the utmost danger, without the power of resistance; they were all together like parties of slaves, and what cannot be told without fresh grief, those who had not the means of promising a high ransom, were obliged to yield themselves victims to the low soldiery." *Laboureur* then exclaims with more fervour than justice, "Oh! eternal reproach! Oh! ever deplorable disaster! it is usual to console oneself under similar losses when one is conquered by equal forces, nor is it an extreme misfortune to acknowledge valiant warriors or gentlemen victorious, but it is a two-fold disgrace, and that which overpowers a generous spirit, to see oneself beaten by bad troops, to yield in valour to people collected from all parts, and to acknowledge armed valets for conquerors, and masters of one's life and liberty! The check of the advanced guard frightened the two lines which remained, and as they had no chief or lord of consequence to conduct them, they thought more of cowardly flying, than of aiding and assisting their companions. It then unfortunately happened that a body of armed men of the routed advanced guard took to flight, to avoid the fury of the conquerors, and the King of England believing that they intended to join the rest of the army, and to return to the charge, commanded that they should kill all the prisoners: this carnage lasted until he perceived that they had merely quitted their ranks to run away, when he desired that it should cease, and explained that he had ordered it from a doubt of the intention of the fugitives."—p. 1000, 1001.

our King was approaching towards them, left us a field of blood, with waggons and many other carriages filled with victuals, arrows, spears, and bows. And when, it being so ordered by God, their forces had been routed, and the severity of war was at an end, we returned victorious through the heaps and piles of slain: nor could several refrain from grief and tears, that so many soldiers of such distinction and power, should in such a manner on our account, entirely against our will, have sought their own deaths, destroying and spoiling the glory and honor of their own population to no purpose. And if that sight caused compunction and compassion in us who were strangers passing through the country, how much more did it excite mourning and distress in the native inhabitants, as they waited and saw the soldiery of the country destroyed and disarmed in such a manner. And firmly I believe there is not a heart of flesh nor of stone, if it had seen and contemplated the dreadful destruction and bitter wounds of so many christians, but would have dissolved and melted into tears from grief. Not even had the illustrious or distinguished on our return, any covering whatever, save only in the secret parts of nature, beyond what they received at their very birth. The Battle

Oh! that the French nation would come to peace and unity with the English, and turn back from their iniquities and their wicked ways, in which they are led on, having been seduced and

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bewildered, lest that saying of the prophet should hasten upon them: 'God is a just judge, strong and forbearing. Is he angry every day? unless ye be converted he will brandish his sword; he hath bent his bow and made it ready, and in it he hath prepared vessels of death. And unless they quickly repent, let them feel that which follows: behold he bringeth forth unrighteousness, he hath conceived grief, and hath produced iniquity: he hath opened a pool and dug it, and hath fallen into the pit which he hath made. Let his grief be turned upon his head, and let his iniquity descend upon his own head: for God is a merciful and long-suffering judge; but when he hath exhausted the remedies and mercy of long suffering, he is a severe avenger, and he oftentimes takes away the powers of strong men, who are not righteous.' This is manifest from the multitude of our enemies, all of whom, without distinction, he hath given over to flight, captivity, or the sword, by means of us who struggled for justice in such few numbers.[a] For they had,

Claudius, A viii.

[a] To the narratives of the French writers, and of *Livius* and *Elmham*, the account in the three inedited English chronicles, which have been so frequently cited, together with that by *Hardyng*, of what occurred to Henry's army from the time it left Harfleur, is a desirable addition. "And whan the Kyng sawe that this toune [Harfleur] was welle stuffed bothe of witayle and of men, this worthy Prince toke his leve and went to Calies ward by londe, and the Frensshmen hard of his comyng the thought to stoppe hym of his way that he shuld nott passe that wey, and in all the hast that they myght, breken all the brigges there any passage for horse and man, in so moche that there myght no man passe over the ryvers nother on hors ne on fote but yff he shuld be drowned. And therfor our Kyng with alle his peple went and sought his way farre up to Pares warde, and there was all the ryalle power of Fraunce assembled, and redy to yeve hym batayle and for to de-

according to their own reckoning, more than sixty thousand that drew the sword, when our

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stroie all his peple. But Almyghty God was his guyde and savyd hym and all his meyne and defended hym of his enemyes power and purpose thankyd be God that saved so oure Knyght and Kyng in his rightfull titell. And than owre Kyng beholdyng and seying the multitude and noumbre of his enemies to withstond his wey and yeve hym batayle, than the Kyng with a meke hert and a good spirit lefte up his handis to Almyghty God and besought hym of his helpe and socour and that day to save his trew servauntes; and than oure Kyng gadred all his lordis and other peple aboute and bad hem all be of good chere for they shuld have a fayre day and a gracious victorie and the better of all hir enemies, and prayd hem all to make hem redy unto the bataille for he wold rather be ded that day in the felde than to be take of his enemies, for he wold never put the reame of Englond to raunsone for his persone. And the Duke of Yorke felle on knees and besought the Kyng of a bone that he wold graunte hym that day the avaunteward in his batayle. And the Kyng graunted hym his askyng; and sayd 'Graunte mercy Cosen of Yorke,' and prayd hym to make hym redy. And than he bad every man to ordeyne a stake of a tre and sharpe both endes that the stake myght be pyght in the yerth a slope that hir enemies shuld not over come hem on horsbak, for that were hir fals purpose and araide hem all there for to over ryde our meyne sodenly at the fyrst comyng on of hem at the fyrst brount; and al nyght before the bataille the Frenshmen made many grete fiers and moche revell with howtyng and showtyng and plaid oure Kyng and his Lordis at the dise, and an archir alway for a blanke of hir money, for the wenden all had bene heres. The morne arose, the day gan spryng, and the Kyng by good avise let araie his batayle and his wenges, and charged every man to kepe hem hole togedre and praied hem all to be of good chere. And whan they were redy, he ased what tyme of the day it was, and they said prime; then said oure Kyng 'now is good tyme, for all England prayth for us, and therefore be of good chere and let us goe to oure iorney.' And than he said, with an high vois 'in the name of Almyghty God and Seynt George avaunt Baner, and Seint George this day be thyne helpe.' And than these Frensshmen come priking doune as they wolde have over-ridden all our meyne. But God and oure archers made hem sone to stomble for oure archers shett never arow amys but that persshed and brought to grounde man and hors for they that day shoten for a wager. And oure stakes mad hem stoppe and over terned eche on oothir that they lay on hepes two spere lenghth of heyght. And oure Kyng with his meyne, and with his men of armes and archiers that thakked on theym so thykke with arrowes and leyd on with strokes and oure Kyng with his owne hondes faught manly. And thus Almyghty God and Seynt George brought oure enymies to grounde and yaf us that day the victorie; and there were slayne of Frenshmen that day in the felde of AGINCOURTE mo thanne a xj M. with prisoners that were taken, and there were nombred that day of Frenshmen in the felde mo than six score thousand, and of Englisshemen nat vij M., but God that day faught for us. And after

Claudius, A viii.

The Battle fighting men did not exceed six thousand; and out of their numbers fell the Dukes of Brabant,

Claudius, A viii. cam ther tydynges to oure Kyng that there was a newe batayle of Frenshmen ordeyned redy to stele on hym and comen towardis hym, anone our Kyng let crie that every man shuld slee his prisoners that he had take and anon araid his bataille ayenne to fight with the Frenshmen. And whanne they sawe that our men kylled doune her prisoners thanne they withdrowe hem and brake hir bataille and all hir arrey. And this oure Kyng as a worthy conquerour had that day the victorye in the felde of Agencourte in Picardie. And than oure Kyng retorned ayene ther that the battle was to se what peple was ded of Englyshmen and any were hurte that myght be holpe, and there were ded in the felde the Duke of Barrye, the Duke of Alaunsonie, the Duke of Braban, the Erle of Naverue, the chief Conestable of Fraunce, and viij other Erles and the Erchebishoppe of Saunce and of goode Barons an honderd and moo, and of worthy Knyghtis of grete aliaunce of cote armmers a thousand and fyve hondred. And of Englishemen was ded that day the good Duke of Yorke and the Erle of Southfolke, and of all other of Englishmen there were not ded passyng xxvj bodies thanked be God. And this bataille was on a Fryday which was Crispyne Crispynyanes day in the moneth of October; and anone the Kyng commaunded to bery hem, and the Duke of Yorke to be caryd forth wyth hym and the Erle of Southfolke. And there were prisoners the Duke of Orliaunce, the Duke of Burbone, the Erle of Vendome, the Erle of Ew, the Erle of Richemounde, and Sir Bursigauut Marshall of Fraunce, and many worthy Lordes were there taken in this bataille of Agencourte and were brought un to the toune off Caleys, and so over the see with the Kyng into Englond, and landed at Dover in Kente with all his prisoners in sauftee, thanked be God Almighty. And so come to Caunterbury, and offred at Seint Thomas shryne. And soo fourth he rode thurgh Kent the nexist way to Eltham and there he rested tyl that he wold come to London. And thanne the Maire of London, and the Aldermen, Shreves and all the worthy commoners and craftys men come to Blakheth well and worthely arraide to welcome oure Kyng with dyvers melodies, and thanked Almighty God of his gracious victorie that he had shewed for hym. And so the Kyng and his prisoners passed forth by hem tyll he came to Seynt Thomas Wateryng, and there mett wyth hym all religious wyth procession and welcomed hym. And so the Kyng come rydyng wyth his prisoners thrught the Cite of London, where that there was shewed many a fayre syght at all the conduytes and at crosse in the Chepe as in hevenly arraye of aungels, archaungels, patriarches, prophites, and virgines, wyth dyvers melodies sensyng and syngyng to welcome oure Kyng, and all the conduytes rennyng wyth wyne. And the Kyng passed forth unto Seint Poules, and ther met wyth hym xiiij Byshoppis, revessed and miterred, wyth senscers to welcome the Kyng; and songon for his gracious victory *Te deum laudamus*. And there the Kyng offeryd, and toke and rode to Westmynster, and than the Maire toke his leve of the Kyng and rode home ayene." Cotton. MS. *Claudius*, A. viii. f. 3 & 4.

Barre, and Alençon, five Counts, upwards of ninety Barons and standard bearers,[a] whose

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[a] "And the Tuesday the firste day of Octobre the Kyng toke his weye fro Harfleu toward his town of Caleys, with the noumbre of viij M fytyng men: and the Frensshmen of Fraunce broken there brigges and pyled the forthes of the water of Some and othere diverses wateres, that the Kyng myghte nought passe but with moche disese til he com to the water of Swerdes; and there the Kyng and his oost passyd over. And on the xxv day of Octobre was Fryday, and Seynt Crispyn and Crispiniani day the Lordes and the Chyveteynes of Fraunce lay with a gret oost enbatailed to the noumbre of vj^{xx} M, and wolde a stopped the Kynges weye that he schulde nought a passed to his town of Caleys. And the Kyng with his oost batailed hym ayens the Frensshmen, and manfully he faught ayens hem in a feld that is called Aigincourt, and slowe and toke of hem of Dukes, Erles, Barons, Knyghtes, and Cheveteyns to the noumbre of xij M; and of the comoun peple mo thanne the noumbre of iij M, that is for to weten, the Duke of Orlyons and the Duke of Burbon, the Erle of Vendon', the Erle of Ewe and the Erle of Richemond, with S^{r}. Bursegauut; and there sclayn the Duke of Launson, the Duke of Braban and the Duke of Bare, and the Erle of Navers, the Lord de la Brytte, Constable of Fraunce, and the Seneschall of Henaude, with manye othere Lordes, Knyghtes, and Squyers, and worthy men v M^{l} and mo; and on oure syde were sclayn the Duke of York, the Erle of Suffolk, and S^{r}. Richard of Kyghle, and David Gamme, Squyer, with a fewe mo othere persones to the noumbre of xviij." *Chronicle of London*, 4to. 1827, pp. 100-101, from the *Harl. MS.* 565, f. 75, 76.

Chronicle of London.

Another copy of this Chronicle, Cotton. MS. *Julius*, B. i. presents the following account of the battle, great part of which is very similar to the narrative in the Cotton. MS. *Cleopatra*, C. iv. f. 37. "And the Friday, that is to sey, the day of the Holy Seints, Crispin and Crispinian, alle the roiall power of Fraunce, excepte the Frenssh Kyng, the Dolphyn, the Duke of Bourgoyne, and the Duke of Barre, were bifore the Kyng in his heigh weie, as he schulde passe to Caleis, faire enbatailed in iij batailes to the nombre of LX M^{l} men of armes, and the fairist armed men that eny man saugh ever in any place; and the Kyng seyng wele that thei wolde not suffre hym to passe withouten bataile seid to his little mayny, 'Sires and felawes, the yonder men letten us of oure wey and if thei wol com to us let every man preve hymself a good man this day, and avaunt banere in the best tyme of the yere,' and he rode furth with his basnet upon his hedde, and all other men of armes went upon theire fete a fast paas in holle arraie an Englisshe myle er thei assemblid; and thrugh the grace of God the Kyng made his heigh wey thrugh the thikkest prees of alle the bataile. And there was slayne, the Duke of Launson, the Duke of Braban, the Duke of Bare, vj Erles, the Constable of Fraunce, the Seneschal of Henaude, the maister arblaster, and of other Lordes grete plente: and there was take the Duke of Ordinance, the Duke of Burbon, the Counte of Richmond, the Counte Ewe, the Marschal Sir Bursegauut, and many other Lordes and Knyghts; and these were slayne of Frensshemen v M^{l}: and of al estatis of Englisshemen passid

Julius, B. i.

The Battle

names are written in the book of Records;[a] and more than one thousand five hundred Knights, according to their own computation, and between not xxviij persones. And of estatis of thenglysshe the Duke of Yorke, Therle of Saffolke, ij Knyghts, and Davy Game, and of gentlemen no moo. And the xxiiij day of Novembre the Kyng with al his prisoners came to London in good prosparite."

Hardyng.

Hardyng's account is as follows:—"Howe the Kyng came homewarde through Normandy and Picardie, and smote the battaill of Agyncort, where I was with my maister.

"An hundred mile to Calais had he then
At Agyncourt, so homeward in his waye
The nobles there of Fraunce afore him were
Proudly battailled w^t *an hundred thousand* in araie
He saw he must nedes with theim make afraye
He sette on them, and with them faught full sore
With *nyne thousand, no more* with him thore.

¶ The feld he had and held it all that night
But then came woord of host and enemies
For which thei slewe all prisoners doune right
Sauf Dukes and Erles in fell and cruell wise
And then the prees of enimies did supprise
Their owne people, y^t mo were dede through pres
Then our men might have slain y^t tyme no lesse.

¶ On our side was the Duke of Yorke ther slain
Therle also of Suffolke worshipfully
And Knyghtes twoo with other then sooth to sain
And at the siege therle of Suffolke sothely
The father dyed of the flixe contynually,
But mikell folke at that siege yet dyed
Of frute and flixe and cold were mortified.

¶ On ye French partie ye Dukes of Barre and Loreins
And of Alaunson in battaill ther were dedde
And take were of Christeans in certain
The Duke Lewes of Orliaunce their hedde
The Duke of Burbone in that stede
Therle of Vendom, and Arthure also of Brytain
And Sir Bursigalde Marshall of Fraunce certain.

¶ And therle of Ewe was taken ther also
Fyve Baron also that were at their baner
And fifteen hundred Knights Squyers and mo
Were slain that day in full knightely maner
With woundes so as then did apere
As werres would upon Chrispyn daye
And Chrispynian that Sainctes in blisse been aye."

Hardyng's Chronicle, chap. ccxiiij.

Livius.

[a] *Livius* enumerates among the slain on the part of the French, the Princes and Dukes before mentioned, the Lord of Hely, one of the French nobles who had an interview with Henry before the battle, and others to the number of ten thousand; and of the English the Duke of York, the Earl of Suffolk, and others to the number of one hundred of the advanced guard. At supper, after the battle, he says, that the captured Princes waited on the King.

four and five thousand other nobles,[a] being nearly all the nobility of the French chivalry. And

The Battle

[a] "And there [at Harfleur] lay our Kynge til the fyrste day of Octobre, the which day our Kynge remevyd and toke his way thorow Normandy and thorow Pykardy towarde Calys. And these bethe the townes that our Kynge rood by thorow Frawnce:—first is *Harflew;* the seconde is *Hounefle;* the thirde is *Barflete;* the ferthe is *Moustervelers;* the fift is *Fescooupe*, with the Abbey; the sixth is *Arkes;* the seventhe is *Depe;* the eyghte is *Depe;* the IX is the cete of *Delewe;* the X is the cete de *Tewe;* the XJ is cete de *Neell;* the XIJ is the cete de *Amyas;* the XIIJ is the cete of *Aras;* the XIIIJ the water of *Some;* the XV the cete of *Pyroune:* the XVJ the water of *Swerdys*, and than the batel of Tyrwyn.' And in Azyncorte felde, our Kyng faught with the Frenchmen the Fryday tofore the day of Symond and Jude, and there all the ryall power of Frensshmen come azenst our Kyng and his litill meyne, save the Frenssh Kynge and the Dolfyn, and the Duke of Borgayn, and the Duke of Barr, elles all the Lordys of Frawnce lay tofore the Kynge in his hy way as he schuld passe toward Calys, enbateyled in IIJ batayles as the Frensshmen sayde hem saife, the nowmbre of LX M men of armes, and the were the faireste men of armys that ever any man saw in any place. And owr Kyng with his litill mayne sey well he must nedys fyzte or he myght not come to Calays by the hy way. And than he sayde to his Lordys and to his mayne 'Syres and Felowes the zondere mayne thenk to lett us of owr way and thei wil nat come to us, lete every man prove hym silfe a good man this day, and avant banneres in the best tyme of the yere, for as I am trew Kyng and Knyght for me this day schall never Inglond rawnsome pay erste many a wyght man schall leve is wedde, for here erste to deth I will be dyght, and prefor lordynges for the love of swete Jhu helpe mayntene Inglondes ryght this day; allso Archers to yow I praye no fote that ze fle away erste be we all beten in this felde, and thenke be Englysshmen that none wold fle at no batelle for azenste one of us thowthe there be tene, thenke Criste will help us in owr ryght, bot I wold no blode wer spilte Cryste helpe me so now in this case, bot they that been cause of this trespase when thou sittest in jugment there holde me excused to fore thi face as thu art God Omnipotent, but passe we all now in fere, Duke, Erle, and Bachelere, of all owr synnys he make us seker jentil Jhu, borne of Marye, and as for us thu deydyst on Good Fryday as thi will was so brynge us to thi blisse an hy and graunte us there to have a place, do and bete on faste owr Kyng tho bad wythe full glad chere', and so thei dyde at that word lord Knyght and archer there men myghte see a semble sade that turnyd many on to tene and twenty for many a lorde there ryght low lay that comen was of blod full gent, by evensong tym, sothely to say, then halpe us God Omnipotent.

Cleopatra, C. iv.

The Duke of Glowcestre also that tyde,
Manfully with his mayne,
Wonders he wroght there wonder wyde:
The Duke of Yorke also parde,

The Battle there were taken of the remaining number, the Dukes of Orleans and Bourbon; the Counts of

Cleopatra, C. iv.

Fro his Kyng no fote wolde he flee,
Till his basonet to his brayn was bente;
Now on his sowle he have pete
Mersifull God Omnipotent.

Hontyngdon and Ôxforde bothe,
Were wonder fers all in that fyght,
That erste was glade thei made ful wrothe;
Thorow hem many on to deth were dyght;
The Erles fowghten with may and myzt,
Rich havvorke thei rose and rente,
Owr Kyng to helpe thei wer full lyght,
Now blesse hem God Omnipotent.

The Erle of Suthfolk gave hem assaylle,
And Sir Richarde Kyghle in that stede,
Here lyves thei losten in that bataile,
With dyntes sore there were thei dede;
Hif eny man byde eny good bede,
Unto God with good entent,
To tho two sowles it mote be mede,
Gracious God Omnipotent.

Sir Willm Bowsere as foule in fright,
Preste he there was upon his pray;
Erpyngham he come hym with,
Her manhode holp us well that day;
Off Frenssh folk in that afray,
Thre Dukes were dede with doleful dent,
And fyve Erles this is no nay,
Ther holpe us God Omnipotent.

Lordes of name an hunderde and mo,
Bitterly that bargayn bowght;
Two thousand Cot Armers also,
After her sorow theder thei sowght;
Ten thowsand Frensshmen to deth wer browght,
Off whom never none away went,
All her names sothly know I nowght;
Have mercy on hem Cryst Omnipotent.

Two Dukes were take in that stour,
He of Orliawnce and of Borbon,
The Ewe, and Arthowre,
The Earl of Vendon and many one,
The Erchebisshop of Sens come with our foon',
Hym failed the wynnynge of his schon,
Thorow myght of God Omnipotent.

The fals Flemyngys God zef hem car,
Thei loved us never zit by the roode,
For all her fals flatryng fare,
Azenst owr Kyng that day thai stode;
Bot many of hem her hert blode,
Unblythly bledden upon that bent,
Zit schall thai never wayt Inglond good,
I swer by God Omnipotent.

Cotton. MS. *Cleopatra*, C iv. f. 24 to 26.

Richmond, of Vendôsme, and Ewe;[a] also the most mighty soldier Lord Buçicald, Marshal of The Battle

[a] The following is *Monstrelet's* list of the persons of distinction of the French army, who were slain or taken at Agincourt:—

"The Lord Charles d'Albreth, Constable of France, the Marshal Bouciquault, carried a prisoner to England, where he died, Sir James de Chastillon Lord de Dampierre, Admiral of France, the Lord de Rambures master of the crossbows, Messire Guichard Daulphin master of the King's household. The princes were, Duke Anthony of Brabant, brother to John Duke of Burgundy, Edward Duke of Bar, the Duke d'Alençon, the Count de Nevers, brother to the Duke of Burgundy, Messire Robert de Bar, Count de Marle, the Count de Vaudemont, John brother to the Duke of Bar, the Count de Blaumont, the Count de Grand-prè, the Count de Roussy, the Count de Fauquembergue, Messire Louis de Bourbon, son to the Lord de Préaux. The names of other great Lords as well from Picardy as elsewhere: the Vidame of Amiens, the Lord de Croy, and his son Messire John de Croy, the Lords de Helly, d'Auxi, de Brimeu, de Poix, l'Estendart Lord de Crequy, the Lord de Lauroy, Messire Vitart de Bours, Messire Philippe d'Auxi Lord de Dampierre bailiff of Amiens, and his son the Lord de Raineval, his brother Sir Allain, the Lord de Mailly and his eldest son the Lord d'Inchy, Sir William de Saveuses, the Lord de Neufville and his son the castellan of Lens, Sir John de Moreul en Brie, Sir Rogue de Poix, Sir John de Bethune, Jean de Moreul en Brie, Sir Symon de Craon Lord de Clarsy, the Lord de Rocheguyon, and his brother the Vidame de Launois, the Lord de Galigny, the Lord d'Aliegre in Auvergne, the Lord de Bauffremont in Champagne, Sir James de Heu, the Lord de Saint Bris, Christopher de Fosseux, Sir Regnault de Crequy, Lord de Comptes, and his son Sir Philippe, the Lord de Mannes and his brother Lancelot, Mahieu and John de Humieres, brothers, Sir Louis de Beausault, the Lord de Ront, Sir Raoul de Manne, Sir Oudart de Renty, and two of his brothers, the Lord de d'Applincourt and his son Sir James, Sir Louis de Guistelle, the Lord de Vaurin and his son the Lord de Lidequerke, Sir James de Lescuelle, the Lord de Hames, the Lord de Houdescocte, the Lord de Pulcres, Sir John Bailleul, Sir Raoul de Flandres, Sir Collart de Fosseux, the Lord de Roissimbos and his brother Louis de Boussy, the Lord de Thiennes, the Lord of the said place of Azincourt and his son, Sir Hustin Kieret, le Bègue de Caieu and his brother Payen, the Lord de Varigines, the Lord d'Auffemont and his son Sir Raulequin, Sir Raoul de Neele, the Lord de St. Crespin, the Viscount de Quesnes, Sir Pierre de Beauvoir, bailiff of Vermandois, Sir John de Lully and his brother Sir Griffon, the Lord de St Symon and his brother Gallois, Collart de la Porte Lord of Bellincourt, Sir Yvain de Cramailles, the Lord de Cerny in Laonnois, Sir Drieu d'Orgiers Lord de Bethencourt, Sir Gobert de la Bove, Lord de Savoisy, the Lord de Blainville, the Lord de Yvery, and his son Messire Charles, the Lord de Becqueville and his son Sir John Martel, the Lord du Trecht, the Seneschal d'Eu, the Lord de la Riviere de Tybouville, the Lord de Courcy, the Lord de St Boue, the Lord de Beau-mainnil, the Lord de Combouches, the Lord de la Heuse, the Lord de Viesport, Sir Bertrand Painel, the Lord de Chambois, the Lord de St Cler, the Lord de Montcheverel, the Lord Monstrelet

The Battle France, and but few other noblemen. And there was great joy and wonder among our army; for

Monstrelet d'Ouffreville, Sir Enguerran de Fontaines and his brother Sir Charles, Sir Almaury de Craon Lord de Brolay, the Lord de Montejan, the Lord de la Haye, the Lord de l'Isle Bouchart, Sir John de Craon Lord de Montbason, the Lord de Bueuil, the Lord de Chaumont sur Loire, Sir Anthony de Craon Lord de Beau-Vergier, the Lord d'Asse, the Lord de la Tour, the Lord de l'Isle Gonnort, Sir John de Dreux,[a] Sir Germain de Dreux, the Viscount de Tremblay, Sir Robert de Bouvay, Sir Robert de Challus, Sir John de Bonnebault, the Lord de Montangaugier, Sir John de Valencourt, the Lord de Sainteron, Sir Ferry de Sardonne, Sir Peter d'Argie, Sir Henry d'Ornay, the Lord des Roches, Sir John de Montenay, the Lord de Bethencourt, the Lord de Combourt, the Viscount de la Belliere, the Lord de la Tute, Sir Bertrand de Montauban, Bertrand de St Gille, Seneschal of Hainault, the Lord de la Hamede, the Lord du Quesnoy, the Lord de Montigny, the Lord de Quiervran, the Lord de Jeummont, the Lord de Chin, Sir Symon de Haurech, the Lord de Potres, Sir John de Gres, Sir Allemand d'Estaussines, Sir Christopher de Lens and Sir Henry, brothers to the Bishop of Cambray, Sir Michel du Chastellier and his brother Guillame de Vaudripont, Ernoul de Vaudrigien, Pierre de Molin, Jean de Buait, George de Quiervrain and his brother Henry, the lord de Saures, Sir Briffault his brother, le Baudrain d'Aisne Knight, Sir Maillart d'Azouvilles, Palamedes des Marquais, the Lord de Bousincourt, the Lord de Fresencourt the Lord de Vallusant, the Lord de Hectrus, Guernier de Brusquent, the Lord de Moy in Beauvoisis, and his son Gamot de Bournouville and his brother Bertrand, Louvelet de Massinguehen and his brother, Sir Collart de Phiennes, Alain de Vendôme, Lamont de Launoy, Sir Colinet de St. Py, the Lord de Bos d'Anequin, Lancelot de Fremeusent, the Lord d'Aumont, Sir Robinet de Vaucourt, Sir Raisse de Moncaurel, Sir Lancelot de Clary, the Lord de la Rachie, Sir Guerard d'Herbaines, Sir Guerard de Haucort, Sir Robert de Montigny, Messire Charles de Montigny, Sir Charles de Chastillon, Philippe de Poictiers, the Lord de Feulodes, the Lord de St. Pierre, Guillaume Fortescu, Burel de Guerames, Robert de Potiaumes, the son of the bailiff of Rouen, the Provost to the Marshals of France, Bertrand de Belloy Jaques de Han, the Lord de Baisir and Martel du Vauhuon his brother, Jean de Maletraicts, Raoul de Ferrieres, Raoul de Longuel, Knight, Henry de la Leude, Sir Ernault de Corbie, Lord d'Aniel, Jean d'Escoünevelle, Sir Yvain de Biauval, Sir Brunel Fretel, le Baudrain de Belloy Knight, Sir Regnault d'Azincourt, the governor of the county of Rethels, Ponce de Salus, Knight, lord of Chastel-neuf, the lord de Marquectes, Symmonet de Morviller, Foleville, butler to the Duke of Acquitaine, Gallois de Fougieres, sir Lancelot de Rubemprè, Lyonnet Torbis, the Lord de Boissay, Anthony d'Ambrine, Sir Hector de Chartres the younger and his two brothers, Toppinet de la Nofville, Thibault de Fay, the Lord de Beauvoir sur Autie, Hue des Autels, the Lord de Caucroy and his brother Eustace d'Aubrunes, Lancelot de Conchy, Jean de Launoy, Collart de Moubertault, Sir Charles Boutry, Sir Ony Gourle, with John Gourle his brother, le Bon de Sains, Anthony de Broly, Guil-

[a] In the margin "he is not to be found in the King's book."

of our numbers, which were so few, there were found slain in the field not more than nine or ten persons, besides the illustrious and most wise Prince, Lord Edward Duke of York, and Lord Michael Earl of Suffolk, a valiant youth, and two lately created Knights, who fell in the battle. But our Duke of Gloucester, Humphrey, the King's younger brother, a valiant Prince, as he dealt out to others, so he received himself, and was grievously wounded in the King's battalion; and no wonder among so many swords, spears, and axes, brandished with such violence; yet soon after his arrival at Calais he recovered,[a] The Battle

laume de Villers, Roissart de Rossefay,[a] Aubert de Merbes,[a] Regnault de Villers,[a] Lord de Vrendone, Floridas du Souys, the Lord de Regnauville, Boughois de la Beuvriere, and his brother Gamart, le Ploutre de Guerboal, Pierre Aloyer, Percival de Richebourg, the Lord de Fiefes and his son the Bègue de Quenoulles, Godfrey de St Marc, the Lord de Tencques, the Lord de Herlin, Symon de Monchiaux, sir Maillet de Gournay and his brother Porus, Jean de Noyelle, Pierre de Noyelle and Lancelot de Noyelle, sir Carnel de Hangiers, Jean d'Authville Lord de Vvrains, Regnault de Guerbauval, William Lord de Rin, Pierre de Remy, Sausset d'Eusne, the Lord de Haucort in Cambresis, sir Guichard d'Ausne, the Lord de Raisse, the Lord d'Espaigny, the Lord de Cheppon, John de Chaule Lord of Bretigny, Jean de Blausel, Guillebert de Guerbauval, Haudiu de Beleval, sir Guerard de Hauressis, sir Louis de Vertain, sir Estourdy d'Ongines and his brother Bertrand, sir Henry de Boissy Lord of Caule, sir Arthur de Moy, the borgne de Noaille, sir Floridas de Moreul, sir Brissault de Moy, sir Bridoul de Puiseurs, the Lord de Verneul, Baiuois de Guerbauval, the Viscouut de Dommart, Ponchon de la Tour, Godfrey de Pronvile." Ed. 1595, p. 230 to 231.

[a] "After this bloody battle, the King of England, and the lords of his suite, bought of the lower soldiery all prisoners of consideration that they had taken, to put them to a heavy ransom, and to profit by their importance. They soon resolved, less from charity than interest, to increase the number of them, by raising those from among the slain who still breathed, or gave any signs of life, so that they might make money; and they employed the French in this melancholy office. This being done, the victorious King withdrew his host some paces, and there assembled his army, and after having motioned them with his hand to keep silence, he thanked them for having so generously ha- Laboureur.

[a] These gentlemen are not in the King's book.

The Battle

God be praised. England has therefore cause both of joy and grief; reason to rejoice at the

Laboureur

zarded their lives in his service, and desired them always to remember so fortunate a day as a most convincing proof of the justice of his arms, to recover in the country of his ancestors that which had been so unjustly withheld from him; he seriously warned them, nevertheless, not to pride themselves upon their success, and not to attribute to their bravery the triumph which they owed to the mere mercy of God. 'It is He only,' said he, 'who has worked this miracle in our favour, to defeat with so small a force such a formidable power, to lower and humiliate the pride of the French,' He added, that he ought to return thanks to Him that he had so few, or rather that they had not any loss of Knights or important persons, but he assured them that he felt horror that so much blood had been shed; that he was impressed with compassion for all the dead, and especially for those of his army; and that he had been careful to have them buried, and not to leave their bodies scattered on the field, to beasts and birds of prey. He likewise allowed them to perform the same offices to the French, and caused the Bishop of Therouenne to consecrate a place for their cemetry. This he conceded to the wishes of the Princes of the blood-royal of France, whom he treated as his dearly beloved cousins, and consoled and entreated to bear this turn of fortune with patience, who had only acted in her usual manner, by changing into grief the conclusion of what had proceeded so happily at the commencement, which he attributed to the bad management of their troops." *Laboureur*, p. 1012.

Elmham.

"After a long space of time, during which the King kept the field, and when the day had declined towards evening, by the counsel of his nobles and experienced men he returned to lodge with his army in the same village as on the preceding night, yet the goods the English left there, the French robbers had in the time of the battle made their booty, both horses and other things. But on that very evening, the captive princes of France were servants to the King, who in the morning made certain of taking him prisoner. The night being spent, the King returning with his army and prisoners through the middle of the plain on which the battle took place, as the more direct way, and finding all the bodies of the slain, naked and entirely stript, proceeded to his castle of Gynes, and thence to his town of Calais, into which he was received with all reverence, and great joy." *Elmham.*

The following extract from the Corporation records of the City of Salisbury, which occurs in the *Lansdowne* MS. 1054, f. 55, is entitled to a place in this work, because it is contemporary with the circumstances which it relates; and it is not a little curious from being a notice of the Battle of Agincourt, soon after it took place, by a provincial corporation.

Records of Salisbury.

"At a Convocation held the 9th day of October, in the —— year of King Henry the Fifth. Letters patent under the great seal of our Lord the King, were directed to John Lewisham, Mayor of the City, Walter Shirle, William Waryn, and William Tuyle, to array the hoblers, archers, and others within the city. And also there was a close letter from the Chancellor of England, containing in-

victory gained, and the preservation of her men; reason also to grieve from compassion at the

The Battle

structions to the Mayor and Citizens for fortifying the same city, with 'barreris,' and other muniments, and for preserving the peace within it. In consequence of which patent, a proclamation was made in the city of all the articles contained in the same, And be it known that our Lord the King of England, Henry the Fifth, crossed the sea with his great army towards Harflet, on the vigil of the assumption of the blessed Mary. He arrived at the said port in the third year of his reign, and besieged that town, with the Duke of York, the Duke of Clarence, the Duke of Gloucester, and several others, the Earl Warren, and other Lords. Afterwards, on the twenty-second day of September, viz: on Sunday, the morrow of Saint Matthew, Apostle and Evangelist, in the aforesaid year, the town surrendered to the said Lord the King, and the King himself bravely acquired it. After which acquisition, having made an ordinance for preserving the same town, and constituted the Earl of Dorset captain thereof, our Lord the King with his said army returned from the aforesaid siege towards Calais (by reason of a very great pestilence prevailing at Harflet:) and the King thus proceeding, the great army of France, in number about a hundred thousand, was appointed to oppose the King, who had not with him above the number of ten thousand. Which armies fought stoutly; and in the battle there were slain of the French in the plain of Argenton on Friday, the festival of Saints Crispin and Crispinian, namely, on the twenty-fifth day of October, in the year of our Lord one thousand four hundred and fifteen, and in the aforesaid third year of the reign of the said Henry the Fifth, the Lord de Brut, Constable of France, the Duke de Launson," &c. [here follow the names of the principal French noblemen,] "and four thousand brave Knights and Esquires, besides the common men. And likewise there were taken and made prisoners of our Lord the King, the Duke d'Orleance, the Duke of Bourbon, the Marshal of France called Bursegaud, the Count of Richemonde, the Count of Perdon, the Count d'Ewe, and the brother of the Duke de Launson, 'et arca sua.' And on the part of the Lord our King were slain, the Duke of York, the young Earl of Suffolk, and no more of the Lords, and about fifteen of other persons who were valets. And so our Lord the King overcame on that day all his enemies, giving thanks to the most high God, to the mother and perpetual Virgin, Mary, and to Saint George, and all the saints of God. He departed with his army towards Calais, resting there and refreshing himself, and sending whom he pleased out of the said army into England: after which, the Lord the King, from regard to the affairs of his realm, returned into England, arriving at Dover on Saturday, the festival of Saint Clement, Pope, namely, on the twenty-third day of December, [November] in the aforesaid third year, bringing with him the said French Lords, his prisoners and captives; who coming towards London, a very great multitude of the people of that city met him in red vestments and white hoods. Entering that city on the following Saturday, namely, on the last day of the same month, the festival of Saint Andrew, so great a multitude of men and women stood in the streets from the corner of Saint George in Suthray, as far as Westminster, that the King himself with the aforesaid Lords his captives,

Records of Salisbury.

The Battle destruction and death of Christians. And far be our nation from ascribing the triumph to her own glory or valour, but to the only God from whom is every victory; lest the Lord be angry at our ingratitude, and turn away from us his victorious hand on other occasions. And let our England study to please God without intermission, to extirpate heresies and errors, with other seditions and unrighteousnesses, in hymns, acknowledgments, and canticles, more fully and more perfectly, to confess and sing to the Lord, who hath done wonders in Israel, and hath given victory to his anointed; and let her pour out prayers, supplications, and tears, before the sight of the supreme graciousness of God, that with the shield of his omnipotence he may, during seasons of long continuance, guard, protect, visit, and defend our most victorious King, and his desire for the welfare of the church, and peace of the realms. And let us together sing that which is sung every year by the church, 'Thine is the power, thine the kingdom, Oh! Lord; Thou art above all nations: Give peace, Oh Lord, in our days.'

And after the battle, our King returned where he had rested the night before, and took his march on the morrow towards Calais,[a] could scarcely arrive at Westminster from the tenth hour until the third of the afternoon. The cause also of this hindrance was the different arrangements and pageants displayed to him by that city. For whose arrival and glorious victory be glory to God in the highest."

[a] "When the King of England and his army had on this Saturday begun their march toward Calais, many of the French returned to the field of battle,

through those heaps of patriotism and blood where sunk the power of the French. March to Calais.

On Tuesday, the morrow of Saints Simon

again to turn over the bodies some to seek for their masters and lords, to carry them to their own countries for burial, others to pillage what the English had left, who had only taken gold, silver, rich dresses, hauberks, and what was of great value; for which reason the greater part of the armour of the French was untouched, and on the dead bodies; but they did not long remain thus, for they were very soon stripped, and even the shirts, and all other parts of their dress were carried away by the male and female peasants of the adjoining villages. The bodies were left exposed as naked as when they came from their mother's womb. On the Saturday, Sunday, Monday, Tuesday, and Wednesday, the corses of many Princes were well washed and raised, namely, the Dukes of Brabant, Bar, and Alençon, the Counts de Nevers, de Beaumont, de Vaudemont, de Faulquemberge the Lord de Dampierre, Admiral, Messire Charles d'Albreth, Seneschal, and buried in the church of the Friars Minors at Hesdin. Others were carried by their servants, some to their own countries, and others to different churches. All who were recognised were taken away, and buried in the churches of their lordships. When Philip Count de Charolois heard of the heavy and melancholy disaster of the French, he was in great grief, more especially for the death of his two uncles, the Duke of Brabant and Count de Nevers. Moved by compassion, he caused all that remained exposed on the field of battle to be interred, at his expense, and commissioned the Abbot de Roussianville and the baillif of Aire to have it done. They measured out a square of twenty-five yards, wherein were dug three trenches of the width of two men in which were buried, by an account kept, five thousand eight hundred men, besides those who had been carried away by their friends, and those of the wounded who died in hospitals, towns, villages, and the adjacent woods; and who, as I have before said, must have been very numerous. This square and trenches were consecrated as a burying ground by the Bishop of Guines, at the command, and as procurator of Louis de Luxembourg, Bishop of Therounne. It was surrounded by a strong hedge of thorns, to prevent wolves or dogs from entering it, and tearing up and devouring the bodies. In consequence of this sad event, some learned clerks of the realm made the following verses: Monstrelet

A chief, by dolorous mischance oppress'd,
A prince who rules by arbitrary will,
A royal house by discord sore distress'd,
A council, prejudic'd and partial still,
Subjects by prodigality brought low,
Will fill the land with beggars, well we trow.

Nobles made noble in dame Nature's spite
A tim'rous clergy fear, and truth conceal,
While humble commoners forego their right
And the harsh yoke of proud oppression feel;
Thus, while the people mourn, the public woe
Will fill the land with beggars, well we trow.

March to Calais.

and Jude, he came to Calais ;[a] and on the Saturday after the festival of Saint Martin, when the aforesaid Lord de Gaucourt, and the other pri-

Monstrelet

Ah feeble woe! whose impotent commands
Thy very vassals boldly dare despise:
Ah helpless monarch! whose enervate hands
And wavering counsels dare no high emprize:
Thy hapless reign will cause our tears to flow,
And fill the land with beggars, well we trow.'

The following are the names of such principal persons as were neither killed nor taken at this battle. First, the Count de Dampmartin, Lord de la Riviere, Sir Clugnet de Brabant, styling himself Admiral of France, Sir Louis Bourdon, Sir Galiot de Gaules, Sir John d'Engennes." *Monstrelet.*

Walsyngham.

Walsyngham's account of the slain and prisoners is, "that the Dukes of Alanson, of Brabant, and of Bar, with five Earls and the Constable of France, and other Lords to the number of almost a hundred, and of Knights and Esquires, four thousand and sixty nine are said to have been slain; that the number of the common soldiers was not noticed by the heralds; that there were taken at the same time, the Dukes of Orleans and Burbon, and the Earls of Ewe, and Vendome, and Arthur, brother of the Duke of Brittany, who called himself the Earl of Richmond; and one Burdegald, the most honorable Knight of the realm of France, and others as they say to the number of seven hundred; and that on the part of the King there fell, Lord Edward Duke of York, and Lord Michael Earl of Suffolk, four Knights and one Esquire, called David Game, and of the common soldiers twenty eight." *Pierre de Fenin* says, "about four or five hundred only of Henry's army were slain, and that the Duke of York, the King's uncle, was mortally wounded. The English were excessively annoyed at the loss of their horses, of which a great many were wounded and rendered useless, in consequence of which they had great difficulty in reaching Calais, where they were received with graet delight." p. 461.

Fenin.

Chronicle of London.

[a] The following extract from the *Harleian MS.* 565, printed in the *Chronicle of London*, shews the time as well as the manner in which the news of the victory was received in London, whilst that from another contemporary MS., inedited, in the Cottonian collection, corroborates the account of the pageant in the text. Walsyngham, Titus Livius, Monstrelet, and all the other writers, also speak of Henry's reception in similar terms. "And the xxix day of Octobre, the morwe after seynt Simondes day and Jude, the same day the newe meire schulde ryde and taken his charge at Westm', the same day erly in the morwe comen tydynges to London while that men weren in there beddes, that the Kyng hadde foughton and hadde the bataille and the feld aforseid. And anoon as they hadde tydynges thereof, they wente to alle the chirches in the citee of London and rongon alle the belles of every chirche; and solempnely alle the prestes of every chirche, and othere men that were lettered songen *Te Deum Laudamus, &c.* And ayens ix of the belle were warned alle the ordres of relygeous men of the citee of London, for to go a procession fro seynt Poules unto seynt Edward schryne at Westm'. And the newe maire and

soners at Harfleur, arrived as they had been bound by covenant, he returned into England with his prisoners through the port of Dover. Neither do our oldest men remember any Prince, who ever governed his army throughout an expedition with more labor, vigor, or manfulness, who with his own hand achieved such deeds of arms in the field. Yea, neither is found in chronicles or annals, that any King of England, of whom our ancient writings make mention, ever executed so many deeds in so short a time, and returned home with so great and so glorious a triumph. To the only God be the honor and glory for ever and ever, Amen. And that we may connect what

Henry arrives at Dover.

hise aldermen with alle the craftes of London, and the quen with alle here lordes also wente fro seynt Poules unto Westm', and offred at seynt Edwardes schryne aforeseid or the meire took his charge; and whanne the meier hadde taken his charge, every man come rydyng hom fro Westm' on horsbak, and were joyful and glad for the goode tydynges that they hadde of the Kyng, and thankyd oure lord J'hu Crist, his modir seynt Marye, and seynt George and alle the holy company of hevene, and seyde 'Hic est dies quam fecit Dominus.' Also in this yere, that is to say the xxviij day of Octobre, the Kyng com to his town of Caleys, and was there til the xvj day of Novembre: and that same day the Kyng schipped fro his town of Caleys toward Engelond, and he landed the same day at nyght at Dovorr, and com forth alle the woke after toward London: and the Fryday at nyght the Kyng come to Eltham, and there he lay al that nyght; and on the morwe was Satyrday, the xxiij day of Novembre, the maire of London and alle the aldermen, with alle the craftes of London, reden every man in reed, with hodes reed and white, and mette with the Kyng on the Blakheth comyng from Elthamward toward his citee of London; and ayens his comynge was ordeyned moche ryalte in London, that is to weten at London bregge, at the conduyt in Cornhill, at the gret conduyt in Chepe, and at the crosse in Chepe was mad a ryall castell, with angels and virgynes syngynge therinne; and so the Kyng and hise presoners of Frensshmen reden through London unto Westm' to mete, and there the Kyng abod stille. And on the morwe after, it was Soneday and the xxiiij day of Novembre, the maire and alle the aldermen, with too hundred of the beste comoners of London, wente to Westm' to the Kyng, and present hym with a M^{l} pound, in too basynes of gold worth V^{c} li.'

Chronicle of London.

Journey to London. followed with that which preceded, the King having enjoyed one day's rest in the aforesaid port, proceeded through Canterbury, over the holy thresholds of the churches of that metropolis, and of St. Augustine, to his manor of Eltham; proposing on the following Saturday to honor the City of London with his presence. Now the citizens having heard the most desirable, yea, most delightful reports of his arrival, in the mean time prepared themselves and the city as much as time

A Pageant prepared in London. permitted, for the reception of their most loving and beloved Prince, whom God had so magnificently and miraculously of his grace led back with triumph to his own country from a rebellious and intractable people. And when the wished-for Saturday dawned, the citizens went

Arrives at Blackheath. forth to meet the King, as far as the heights of Blackheath; viz. the Mayor and twenty-four Aldermen in scarlet, and the rest of the inferior citizens in red suits, with party-colored hoods, red and white, on about twenty thousand horses, all of whom according to their crafts, had certain finely contrived devices, which notably distinguished each craft from the other. And when about the tenth hour of day, the King had come through the middle of them, and the citizens had

Entry into London. given glory and honor to God, and congratulations and thanks to the King for the victory obtained and for his labours for the state, the citizens advanced forward towards the city, the King following with his own but small retinue. And that

the pen may record something of the praise and embellishment of the city, and the splendid entertainments of so many noble citizens, when they had come to the tower at the approach to the bridge, as it were at the entrance to the authorities of the city, there was erected on the top of the tower, a gigantic statue of amazing magnitude, which looking upon the King, bore, as if a champion, a great axe in his right hand, but held in his left, as porter, the keys of the city hanging on a staff; and at his right side stood a female not much less in size, clad in a scarlet mantle, and a woman's ornaments, as if man and wife, who, arrayed in fine apparel might see the venerated face of their lord, and receive him with full praise. Around them, banners of the royal arms adorned the tower, elevated on the turrets; and trumpets, clarions, and horns, sounded in various melody. And in front there was this elegant and suitable inscription upon the wall, CIVITAS REGIS IUSTICIE, [The city, to the King's righteousness.] And as they proceeded nearer the bridge, there was on each side, a little before it, a lofty column, in imitation of a little tower, no less ingenious than elegant, built of wood, which was covered with linen cloth, painted the colour of white marble and green jaspar, as though of stones squared and cut by a stone cutter. On the top of the right hand column stood an erect figure of an antelope, having a shield with the splendid royal arms sus-

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pended from his neck, and holding the royal sceptre extended in his right foot; and on the top of the other column was an image of a lion, erect, bearing on high in his right claws a staff with the royal standard unfurled. Over the foot of the bridge across the road was raised a tower, worked and painted like the said columns, in the middle of which, under a splendid pavilion, stood a most beautiful image of Saint George, armed, excepting his head, which was adorned with a laurel wreath, studded with pearls, shining with what seemed precious stones, having behind his back a crimson tapestry, with his arms glittering in a multitude of shields. And on his right, hung his triumphal helmet, and on his left a shield of his arms of suitable size. In his right hand he held the hilt of the sword with which he was girded, and in his left a roll, which extended along the turrets, containing these words, SOLI DEO HONOR ET GLORIA, [To God alone honor and glory.] And this prophetical congratulation was placed in front of the tower, FLUMINIS IMPETUS LETIFICAT CIVITATEM DEI, [The stream of the river gladdens the city of God:] with halberds bearing the King's arms displayed, adorned as above, projecting at the awning and turrets. And in a contiguous house behind the tower, were innumerable boys, representing the angelic host, arrayed in white, and with countenances shining with gold, and glittering wings, and virgin locks, set with precious sprigs of laurel, who at the

King's approach, sang with melodious voices, and with organs, this English anthem, * * * The Pageant.

And when they were come as far as the tower of the conduit in Cornhill, that tower was found decked with crimson cloth, spread out after the fashion of a tent upon poles covered with the same cloth. The middle of the tower below, was surrounded with the arms of Saints George, Edward, Edmund, and of England, in four elevated places, with intermediate escutcheons of the royal arms; amongst which was inserted this inscription of pious import, QUONIAM REX SPERAT IN DOMINO ET IN MISERICORDIA ALTISSIMI NON COMMOVEBITUR, [Because the King hopeth in the Lord, and in the mercy of the most high, he shall not be moved.] But higher, on the turrets the arms of the royal family were raised for ornament on halberds. Under the pavilion was a company of prophets, of venerable hoariness, dressed in golden coats and mantles, with their heads covered and wrapped in gold and crimson; who, when the King passed by them, sent forth a great quantity of sparrows and other small birds, as a sacrifice agreeable to God in return for the victory, and of which some alighted on the King's breast, some rested on his shoulders, and some fluttered round about him. And the prophets sang with sweet harmony, bowing to the ground, this psalm of thanksgiving, CANTATE DOMINO CANTICUM NOVUM, ALLELUIA. QUIA MIRABILIA FECIT, ALLELUIA. SLAVAVIT, &c. [Sing unto the Lord a new song,

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hallelujah! Because he hath done wonders, hallelujah; He hath saved, &c.] Thence they advanced to the tower of the conduit, in the entrance of the street of Cheap, which was hung with a green covering with escutcheons of the city arms, inserted and interwoven in gay assemblage upon posts covered with the same colour, resembling a building. And the turrets above the tower were ornamented with halberds of arms, projecting as in the other places, and its middle round about * * * * * And beneath the covering were men of venerable old age, in apostolic array and number, having the names of the twelve Apostles written on their foreheads, together with the twelve Kings, Martyrs and Confessors of the succession of England, their loins girded with golden girdles, sceptres in their hands, and crowns on their head, the express emblems of sanctity, who chaunted with one accord at the king's approach, in a sweet tune, as follows * * * * *

And they sent forth upon him, round leaves of silver mixed with wafers, equally thin and round, with wine out of pipes of the conduit, that they might receive him with bread and wine, as Melchisedec received Abraham, returning with victory from the slaughter of the four Kings. Then having proceeded further to the cross of Cheap, the cross was not to be seen, but as it were, a very fair castle around it, which, constructed of wood with no less ingenuity than cle-

gance, was ornamented with towers, beautiful columns, and bastions in elegant assemblage; having on each side arches almost as high as a spear and a half, each of which at one extremity supported the castle, and at the other extending forth over the street immerged into the neighbouring buildings, as if it grew out of them; under which in a sufficiently ample space, to the breadth of one spear's length, the people rode as through two gates. And there was written on the fronts of the gates on each side, GLORIOSA DICTA SUNT DE TE CIVITAS DEI, [Glorious things are spoken of thee, O City of God.] Its covering consisted of a linen awning, and painting of the colours of white marble and of green and crimson jaspar, as if the whole had been cemented together of squared and well-polished stones. The arms of Saint George adorned the summit of the castle and the lower tower, and on one part were the King's arms, and on the other the Emperor's, on halberds, and the lower turrets had the arms of the royal family, and of the greater peers of the realm. From the middle of the castle towards the King, a fair portal projected, not less ingeniously constructed, from which was extended a wooden bridge, as it were fifteen *stadia* of good breadth, and reaching from the ground to a man's waist, for the purpose of seeing, covered and decked with tapestry, with posts and barriers on each side, ornamentally and securely enough, for

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avoiding the pressure of the people; and upon this bridge there proceeded out of the castle to meet the King, a chorus of most beautiful virgin girls, elegantly attired in white and virgin dress, singing with timbrol and dance, as to another David coming from the slaughter of Goliath, who might be supposed to be represented by the haughtiness of the French, this song of congratulation, WELCOME HENRY THE FIFTE, KYNGE OF ENGLOND AND OF FRAUNCE. From the top to the bottom of the castle, in the towers, bastions, and columns, were innumerable boys, as it were the archangelic and angelic multitude, decked with celestial gracefulness, white apparel, shining feathers, virgin locks studded with gems and other resplendent and most elegant array, who sent forth upon the head of the King passing beneath, *minæ*[a] of gold, with boughs of laurel; singing with one accord to the honour of Almighty God, with sweet melody of voice and with organs, this angelic hymn, TE DEUM LAUDAMUS, TE DOMINUM CONFITEMUR, &c. [We praise thee O God, we acknowledge thee to be the Lord.] And having come to the tower of the conduit in the going out of Cheap towards Saint Paul's, there surrounded that tower about the middle, many artificial pavilions, and in each pavilion was a most beautiful virgin girl, after the manner of an image, decorated with very elegant ornaments of

[a] Over this word, which it is difficult to translate with accuracy, is written in each MS. *talenta*.

modesty, all of them being crowned with laurel, girt with golden girdles, and having cups of gold in their hands, from which they blew, with gentle breath, scarcely perceptible, round leaves of gold upon the King's head, when he passed beneath them. But the tower was covered with a canopy of the colour of the sky, with clouds interwoven and heaped up with much art; the summit of which was ornamented with the image of an archangel, as if of lucid gold, with other more brilliant colours, resplendently variegated; and the four posts which supported the canopy were borne by four angels, of not inferior workmanship. Beneath the canopy on a throne, was a majestic image representing the sun, which with the shining rays it emitted, glittered above all things; round about which angels shone with celestial gracefulness, chaunting sweetly, and with all sorts of music. * * * * * *

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And there ornamented the bastions of the tower * * * projecting on posts. And that the tower in its inscription might seem to conform with the preceding praises of the inscriptions to the honor and glory of God, not of men, it bore to the view of the passengers, this conclusion of praise, DEO GRACIAS, [Thanks to God.] And besides the pressure in the standing places, and of men crowding through the streets, and the multitude of both sexes looking out of windows and apertures, however narrow, along

The Pageant.

the way from the bridge, so great was the pressure of the people in Cheap, from one end to the other, that the horsemen could scarcely ride through them. And the lattices and windows on both sides were filled with the more noble ladies and women of the realm, and with honorable and honored men, who flocked together to the pleasing sight, and were so very gracefully and elegantly dressed, in garments of gold, fine linen, and crimson, and various other apparel, that a greater assembly, or a nobler spectacle, was not recollected to have been ever before in London. The King himself, amidst these public expressions of praise, and the bravery of the citizens, passed along clad in a purple robe, not with lofty looks, pompous horses, or great multitude, but with a solid aspect, a reverend demeanour, and a few of his most faithful domestics attendant on him; the said Dukes, Earls, and Marshal, his prisoners, following him with a guard of soldiers. From the taciturnity of his countenance, his unassuming deportment, and sober step, it might be gathered that the King, secretly revolving the affair in his breast, rendered thanks and glory to God alone, and not to men. And when he had visited the church of the apostles Peter and Paul, he turned aside to his palace of Westminster, the citizens conducting him along.

The following Poem, if the expression can be allowed, describing the expedition of Henry, the Battle of Agincourt, and the King's reception in London on his return, occurs in the Harleian MS. 565, in the British Museum, in a hand of the fifteenth century. It is attributed to John Lydgate, a monk of Bury, who was nearly contemporary with the period referred to; and though wholly destitute of poetic merit, the production is entitled to notice from the accurate manner in which the events are related.

Another copy of this Metrical History of Henry's invasion is printed by Hearne at the end of his edition of Elmham's Life of that Monarch, from the Cottonian MS. Vitellius D, xii., which is not now extant; but it differs so materially from the other transcript, that it is necessary to print the one from the Cottonian manuscript entire, as notes to the corresponding passages. It is however evident that Hearne's copy was extremely imperfect, or that the printer could not read it, since many words are given erroneously; but some of the obvious blunders have been corrected.

Lydgate.

God that all this world gan make
And dyed for us on a tre,
Save Ingelond for Mary sake,
Sothfast God in Trinyte;
And kepe oure Kyng that is so free,
That is gracious and good with all,
And graunt hym evermore the gree,
Curteys Crist oure Kynge ryall.

Lydgate.

Oure Kynge sente into France ful rathe
Hys bassatours bothe faire and free,
His owne right for to have,
That is, Gyan and Normande;
He bad delyvere that his schulde be
All that oughte Kyng Edward,
Or ellys tell hym certeynle,
He itt gette with dynt of swerd.
Wot ye right well that thus it was,
Gloria tibi Trinitas.

And than answerde the Dolfyn bold
To oure bassatours sone ageyn,
'Me thinke youre Kyng he is nought old,
No werrys for to maynteyn;
Grete well youre Kyng,' he seyde, 'so yonge
That is bothe gentill and small,
A tonne of tenys ballys I shall hym sende
For to pleye hym with all.'
Wot ye right well, &c.

'A dieu Sire,' seide oure Lordis alle,
For there they wolde no longer lende;
They token there leve, both grete and smalle,
And hom to Ingelond they gum wende;
And thanne they sette the tale on ende,
All that the Dolfyn to them gon say;
'I schal hym thanke thanne,' seyde our Kynge,
'Be the grace of God if that y may.'
Wot ye right well, &c.

The Kyng of Fraunce that is so old,
Onto oure Kynge he sente on hy,
And prayde trews that he wolde hold
For the love of Seynt Mary.
'Oure Cherlys of Fraunce gret well, or ye wende,
The Dolfyn prowed withinne his wall,

Swyche teyns ballys I schal hym sende
As schall tere the roof all of his all.'
Wot ye right well, &c.

Lydgate.

Our Kyng ordeyned with all his myght,
For to amende that is amys,
And that is all for Engelond ryght,
To geten agen that scholde it ben his;
That is, al Normandie forsothe y wys,
Be right of eritage he scholde it have,
Therof he seith he wyll nought mys,
Crist kepe his body sounde and save.
Wot ye right well, &c.

Oure Kyng at Westmenster he lay,
And his bretheren everych on,
And other many Lordes that is no nay;
The Kyng to them seyde anon,
'To Fraunce y thenke to take the way,
Sires,' he seyde, 'be swete Seynt John,
Of good counsaill y will yow pray,
Wat is youre will what y shall don?'
Wot ye right well, &c.

The Duk of Clarence, thanne seyd he,
'My Lord it is my right full will,

Oure Kyng at Westmester he laye,
And hys Bretheryne everichone,
And many other Lordes, that ys no naye.
The Kyng to them come a none,
'Serys,' he sayde, 'be swete Sen John,
To Frawnce I thynke to take the waye,
To wreke me there upon my fone,
And get my lond, yf yt I maye.
Off good Conseylle y wole youe praye,
What ys youre wyll, that I schall do?'
The Dewke of Clarance than gan say,
'My Lorde yt is my will that it be so;'

Lydgate.

And other Lordys right manye,
We hold it right reson and skyll,
To Fraunce we wolde yow redy bryng
With gladder will than we kon say.'
'Gramercy Sires,' seide our Kyng,
'I schall yow qwyte if that y may.'
Wot ye right well, &c.

'I warne yow' he seyde 'bothe olde and yonge,
Make yow redy withoughte delay;
At Southampton to mete youre Kynge,
At Lammas on Seynt Petrys day,
Be the grace of God ant swete Mary,
Over the see y thenke to passe;'
The Kyng let ordeyn sone in hy,
What y mene ye knowe the casse.
Wot ye right well, &c.

After anon, with right good chere,
Hyse gret gonnys and engynes stronge,
At London he schipped them alle in fere,
And sone fro Westmenster then spronge,

And other Lordys answeryd ther to
And sayd, 'we holde hit for the beste,
Wit youe we bethe redy for to go,
Wyle the brethe wyll we lest.'
'Gramercy lordynges,' sayd oure Kyng,
I schal yowe quyte, zif y maye.
'Y warne yowe,' he sayd, 'bothe old and zong,
Make yowe redy witoute delay
Atte Southe Hamtone to take yowre waye.
At Sent Peterys tyd at Lamas,
Be the grace of God, that ys no naye,
Over the salte see y thynke to passe.'
The King let orden than full rathe,
Hertely and with good chere,
Hys grette gonnes and engynes bothe,
And schyppyd hem at London all y fere,

Lydgate.

With alle hyse Lordys, sothe to saye,
The Mair was redy and mette hym there,
With all the craftes in good araye,
It is ful soth, what nede to swere?
Wot ye right well, &c.

'Heyl, comely Kyng,' the Mair gan say,
'The grace of God now be with the,
And speed the well in thy jornay,
Almyghti God in Trinite,
And graunt the evermore the degre,
To felle thin enemys bothe nyght and day:'
'Amen,' seyde alle the comunalte,
'Graunt mercy Sire,' oure Kyng gan say.
Wot ye right well, &c.

To Seynt Poulys he held the way,
He offred there full worthyly;
Fro thens to the Quen that same day,
And tok his leve ful hendely;
And thorugh out London thanne gan he ryde,
To Seynt George he com in hye,

Wit all hys Lordys sothe to say,
The Mayere was redy, and met hym there,
With the Crafteys of London in good aray.
'Hayll, comlye Kyng,' the Mayer gan say,
'The grace of God now be with the,
And spede yone zow well in youre jornaye
Almythy God in trenyte,
And grawnt zow ever more degre
To fel yowre Enemyes nyzt and day.'
'Amen,' seyd all the comente.
'Gramercy Serys,' oure Kyng gan say,
To Sent Poulys than he holde the way,
And offeryd ther full worthely.
And so then to the Quene, that nys no nay,
He toke hys leve full reverentlye.
Thorow outt London than gan he ryde,
To Sent Gorges he com in hy,

Lydgate. And there he offred that iche tyde,
And other Lordys that weren hym bye.
Wot ye right well, &c.

And fro thens to Suthampton, unto that strond,
For sothe he wold no longer there dwell;
XV hundryd shippys redy there he fond,
With riche sayles and heye topcastell.
Lordys of this lond, oure Kyng gan there sell,
For a milion of gold as y herd say,
Therefore there truayle was quyte them full well,
For they wolde a mad a queynte aray.
Wot ye right well, &c.

Therefore song it was wailaway,
There lyvys they lost anon right in hast,
And oure Kyng with riall aray.
To the se he past;

And there he offered that ywe tyde,
And many other Lordys that were hym by.
To Southe Hamton he went unto that strond,
For sothe he wolde no lenger dwelle.
1500 schyppys there he fond,
With stremeres and top castels.
Lordes of thys lond oure Kyng gan sell
For a mylyon of golde, as I here say.
Therefore here travall was quyte ful well,
They wold have made a quent affray.
The Erle of Marche, the sothe to say,
That ys grasyos in all degre,
He warned the Kyng, that ys no naye,
Ho he was solde certenly.
'Syr,' he sayde, 'there ys schoche a mane
Thys day thynke youe to betray.'
'Gramercy, Cossen,' sayd oure Kyng so fre,
'My nowne tru Knyght be God veray.'
They that had hym sold, they song, welaway!
Here lyves they lost full sone a none.
Oure Kyng zyd with ryall array,
And saylde fayre one the salt see,

And landyd in Normandye, at the water of Sayn, Lydgate.
At the pyle of Ketecaus, the sothe y yow say,
On oure Lady even, the assumpcion, the thirdde yer of hys rayn,
And boldely hys baner there he gan display.
Wot ye right well, &c.

And to the town of Harflew there he tok the way,
And mustred his meyne faire before the town,
And many other Lordys I dare well say,
With baners brighte and many penoun;
And there they pyght there tentys a down,
That were embroudyd with armys gay;
First, the Kynges tente with the crown,
And all othere Lordes in good aray.
Wot ye right well, &c.

'My brother Clarence,' oure Kyng gan say,
'The tother syde shull ye kepe,
With my doughter and hire maydyns gay,
To wake the Frensshmen of there slepe.
London he seyde shall with here mete,
My gonnys shall lyn upon this grene,

To Saynes mowte tell that he come,
And londyd at Kedcaus, the sothe to saye,
On our Lady daye eve the sompcyon.
In Normandye his baneris he gan display,
And to Harflete he toke the way.
He mosterde fayre be fore the toune,
And other Lordes, that nys no nay,
With banerys bryzt and penoun.
And there they pyzt here tentysse adowne,
That weryn onbrowys with armys gaye.
Fyrst the Kyng's tente with the crowne,
And other Lordys with good aray.
'My brother Clarance,' owre Kyng gan say,
'The toder syde of the Toune ze shall kepe
Wyzt my dowzter, and with her maydynys gay,
To make the French men of her slepe.'
London,' he sayde, 'schal with hym mete,
My gonnes schall lye upon thys grene,

Lydgate.

For they shall play with Harflete
A game at tynes as y wene.
Wot ye right well, &c.

'Mine engynes that bethe so kene,
They shull be sett be syde this hill,
Over all Harflew that they may sene,
For to loke if they play well.
Go we to game be Godys grace,
Myne children ben redy everych on,'
Every greet gonne that there was,
In his mouth he hadde a ston.
Wot ye right well, &c.

The Capteyn of Harflewe sone anon
To oure Kyng he sente on hy,
To wyte what was his wille to don
That he was come with his navy;
'Delivere me this toune,'
'Nay Sire,' he seyde, 'be Seynt Denys:'
'Thanne shall y it gete, if y may.
Be the grace of God and myn devys.
Wot ye right well, &c.

For they schall play with Harflete
A game at the tenys, as Y wene.
Myne engynes, that be of tre so clene,
They schall be set by syde thys hylle
Over all Harflete that they may see,
To marke the chase whan they play well.'
'Go we to game,' sayd good grace,
My chyldren bene redy everichone.'
Every gret gonne, that there was,
In her mowthe they had a stone.
The Captayne of Harflete sone anone
To owre Kyng sent he anone,
To wete, what was hys wyll to done,
That was come thedyr with suche a mayne.
'Delyver me thys Towne,' owre Kyng gan saye.
'Nay, syr,' he sayd, 'be Sent Denyce.'
'I schall hit get, zef that I may,
Be the grace of God at my tenyce.

Myne pleyers that y have hedyr brought, Lydgate.
Ther ballys beth of stonys round,
Be the helpe of hym that me dere bought,
They shall youre wall have to ground.'
The Frensshmen cried, 'Amound,' 'Amound,'
'This toun,' they seyde, 'us moste kepe;'
The Kyng, seith he, will nought fro this ground
Or he have yolde this toun Harflete.
Wot ye right well, &c.

Tenys seyde the grete gonne,
How felawes go we to game,
Among the houses of Harflewe roune,
It dide the Frensshmen right gret grame;

My pleyeres, that I have heder y brouzt.
Balles beth of stones ronde,
By the helpe of hym that me dere bouzt,
They shall bet zowre walles oute the grond.'
The Frenche men cryde, 'a mound, a mound.'
'Thys Towne,' they sayd, 'be howyzt we to kepe.'
The Kyng sayd, 'he wold not fre the gronde,
Or he had getyn now Harflet.'
Tryal manye oure Kyng ded make,
And thorow the dyke they gan pas.
The Frenche men spyd ther wallys gan schake,
And conter menyd a zeyne in that place.
To gyderes there yn they gan race.
Hyt ys gret frad, to se ham fyzt.
Presoneres oure men there they dyde take,
And out of the mynde they had ham dyzt.
The Frenche men than flew at a styzt,
To se oure men so strong and stout.
They fered the mayney with mayn and myzt,
With smolder and stynche they drowe ham out.
Lestenyzt Lordys all a bowzt,
Of pamplys schall ze here.
The ballys of hym lordyly gan rouzt,
Among the housses of Harflete they were.
Than sayd good grace, 'than
Have I do folowys, go we to game.'
Among the howses the balles ren,
And mad many a Frenche men lame

Lydgate.

'Fyftene before,' seyd London, tho
His ball wol faire he gan it throwe,
That the stepyll of Harflete and bellys also,
With his breth he dide down blowe.
Wot ye right well, &c.

'XXX^{ti} is myn,' seyd Messagere,
And smartly went his way;
Ther wallys that were mad right sure,
He brast them down the sothe to say.
The Kynges doughter, seyde here, thei play,
'Herkenyth myne maydenys in this tyde,
Fyve and forty that is no nay,'
The wallys wente doun on every syde.
Wot ye right well, &c.

The engynes seide, 'to longe we abyde,
Let us gon to ben on assent;'
Wherevere that the ball gan glyde,
The houses of Harflew they all to rent.
An Englyssh man the bulwerk brent,
Women cryed, alas! that they were bore,

'XV be fore,' than sayd London, 'in same,'
Hys ball foull fayre he gan throwe
A gayne the stepyll of stone roue.
The Bellys they rowng up a rawe.
'XXX his myne,' sayd messyngere,
'I woll hit wyn zif that I may.'
The wall, that was y mad fule seure,
He brake hyt doune, the sothe to say.
The Kynges douzter sayd, 'harke how they play.
Helpe my maydonys at this tyde
XLV, that nys no naye.'
The walles they bete doune on every syde.
The Englysmen sayd, 'to long we a byde.
Let us go in on asente.'
Where so ever the balles gan glyde,
The howses of Harflete they gan all to rent.
An Englysse man the bolwerke brent.
Women cryde, alas! that they were bore.

'The Frensshmen' seide 'now be we shent, Lydgate.
From us this toun now it is lore.
Wot ye right well, &c.

'It is best now that we therfore,
That we beseche the Kyng of grace,
That he asayle us now no more,
For to dystroye us in this plece;
For but the Dolfyn us reskewe,
This toun to delivere wyl we sikerly,'
Messagers thei let make newe,
And to the Kyng they come in hy.
Wot ye right well, &c.

The Lord Gaucourt certeynly,
For he was capteyn in that place,
And Gilliam Bocher com hym by,
And othere also bothe more and lasse;
To fore the Kyng whan they com was,
I wot they sette them on there kne,
'Heil comely Kyng,' thei seyde, in this plas,
'The grace of God now is with the.
Wot ye right well, &c.

The Frenche men sayd, 'Now be we schent.
For us now thys toune ys y lore.
Hyt is best, that we therefore,
That we sche the Kyng of grace,
That he will assaye us no more,
For to distroye us in thys place.
But the Dolfyn rescu us in thys cace,
Thys towne to hym delyver will we.'
A messyngere they lete make,
And to the Kyng they com in hye.
Lord Gaucort certenlye.
For he was Captayne in that place,
And the Lord Vike com hey,
And other allso bothe more and lasse.
To fore the Kyng whan was com,
I wote they set hym on here kne.
'Hayle! comly Prynce,' sayde y^{t} may umbras,
'The grace of God now hit ys with the.

Lydgate.

'Of trews we wolde beseche the
Unto it be Sounday atte non,
And but it thanne reskewyd be
We shall to yow delyvere this toun;'
The Kyng thanne seyde to them ful son
'I graunte you grace al this tyde,
Somme of yow go forth anon,
The remenaunt with me shall abyde.'
Wot ye right well, &c.

The capteyn hied hym with al his myght,
Unto Roon for to ryde,
He wende the Dolfyn have founde there right,
But he was goon, durst he nought abyde,
Of helpe the capteyn besowte that tyde,
'Harflew from us is lost for ay,
The wallys ben doun on every syde,
We may no longere it kepe, be God varray.
Wot ye right well, &c.

'Of good counsaill I wolde yow pray,
What is youre will what shall y don,
Bataill us moste thene be Soneday,

'For trewys we wol seke the,
For that it be Sonday at none,
A but we rescevyd may be,
We schall to zow delyver thys towne.'
The Kyng than seyd to hym full sone,
'I graunt zow grace all at thys tyde.
On of zow go forthe anon,
The remenant with me schall a byde,
On to zow for to ryde.'
He wend the Dolfyn to have foond ther ryzt.
He was gone, he dorst not byde.
Of help the Capteyn he souzt that tyde,
'Harflete for us is loste for ay.
The walles bene bete on every syde,
We may it no lengre kepe, by God veray.
Of gode concell I woll youe praye.
What is youre wyll, that I schall done.
We moste zywe hym batayll be Sonday,

Or ellys delivere hym the toun.' Lydgate.
The lordys of Roon togydere gon rown,
And bad he sholde the town up yelde,
The Kyng of Ingelond is fers as lyon,
We wil noughte mete hym in the felde.
Wot ye right well, &c.

The capteyn went agen withoute lettyng,
Before the Kyng on kneys gan fall,
'Heyl,' he seyde, 'comely Kyng,
Most worthy Prynce in this world riall;
Here y have brought yow the keyes alle,
Of Harflew that faire toun,
All is youre owne both towr and halle,
At your will Lord and at your croun.'
Wot ye right well, &c.

'I thanke God,' thanne seyde oure Kyng,
'And Mary his modir that is so fre;
Myn uncle Dorset withoute lettyng,
Capteyn of Harflewe schall ye be.
And al that is in that toun,
Wot stille shall abyde,

'Or els to hym delywer the towne.'
The Lordes of Rone to geder gan rowne,
And bade the towne he schuld up zelde.
The Kyng Englond, ferce as lyon,
We wol not met hym in the felde.
The Capten went a zeyn, with out lettyng,
Before oure Kyng on knes gan fall.
'Hayle,' he sayd, 'comly Kyng,
Most worthy Prynce in the world ryall.
Ser, y have y brozt zoue the kyeis all
Of Harflete, that fayre Cety.
Al ys zowre oune, towre, towne, and hall,
At zowre will Lord for to be.'
'I thankyd be God,' than sayd owre Kyng
And Mary moder that ys so fre.
Myn unkyl Dorset, with out lettyng,
Captayne of Harflete ze schall be,
And all that ys in that cete
With zow stell hyt schall a byde,

Lydgate.

To maken up that is adoun,
That hath ben fellyd on every syde.
Wot ye right well, &c.

'Meyne I now shall with yow ride,
To se the toun there overall,
Wyff no child lett non abyde,
But have them ought bothe grete and small;
And let stuffe the toun overall,
With Englysshmen thereinne to be.'
They left no Frenssh blod withinne the wall.
But hadde all oute the comunalte.
Wot ye right well, &c.

Four hundred women and children men myght se,
Whanne they wenten out sore gon they wepe;
The grete gonnes, engynes, to the trwle,
They were brought into Harflete,
Oure Kyng unto the castell yede,
And restyd hym there as his will was,
'Sire,' he seyde, 'so God me spede
To Caleys warde I thenke to pas.'
Wot ye right well that thus it was,
Gloria tibi Trinitas.

To amend the towne in all the gre.
Then y now schall with yowe ryde,
To se the towne there over all.
Wyffe ne chyld let none a byde,
But have hem out bothe gret and small,
And let stoffe the towne on every syde
With Englys men, there yn to be.'
They left no Frenche blode with in the wall,
But hym fore all the Comynalte.
VIII C men and schyldren a man myzt see,
Whan they went out; for they gan wepe.
The grete gonnys and engynes trewlyche
They were brouzt into Harfletc.
Oure Kyng in to the towne zede,
And rest hym there as hys wylle wasse.
'Syrs,' he sayd, 'so God me spede,
To Calys ward y thynke to passe.'

PASSUS SECUNDUS.

Whanne Harflete was getyn, that ryall toun,
Through the grace of God Omnipotent,
Oure Kyng he made hym redy bown,
And to Caleys ward full faire he went;
'My brother Clarence verament,
Ye shall ryde al be my syde,
My cosyn York ye take entent,
For ye shall also this tyde.
Wot ye right well, &c.

'My cosyn Huntyngdon shall with me ryde,
The Erl of Suffolk that is so fre,
The Erl of Oxenford shall not abyde,
He shall comen forth with his meyne,
Sire Thomas Erpyngham that nevere dide faille,
And yit another so mote y thee,
Sire John, the Knyght of Cornewaille,
He dar abyde and that know yee.
Wot ye right well, &c.

Whan Harflet was gette that ryall towne,
Thorowzt the grace of God Omnypotent,
Oure Kyng he mad hym redy bound,
And to Caleys ward full fayre went.
' My brother Gloucetor verament
Ze schall ryde all by me syde,
My Cozen Zorke ze take entent,
For sothe ye schal also thys tyde.
Me Cosyn Hontyngtone scall with me ryde.
The Erle of Suffolke, that ys so fre,
The Erle of Oxinford schall not abyde.
He schall com forthe with hys many,
The zong Erle of Devenschere certaynly,
The Lord of Clyfort that newer wolde fayle,
The Lord Cauuse [*query* Camoys] that ys douzte,
And also Ser John Cornewall,

Lydgate.

'Sire Gilbert Umfreville wil us avayle,
The Lord Clyfford so God me spede,
Sire William Boucer that will not faille,
They will us helpe when we hav nede.'
Toward Caleys full faire they yede,
In the cuntrey of Picardie,
And out of Normandie they gan ryde;
Now Crist save all the cumpanye.
Wot ye right well, &c.

Our Kyng rood forth, blessed he be,
He sparid neither dale ne doun,
Be townes grete, and castell hyghe,
Til he com to the water of Som;
The brigge the Frensshemen hadde drawe a doun,
That over the water he myght nought ryde;
Oure Kyng made hym redy bown,
And to the water of Turwyn he com that tyde.
Wot ye right well, &c.

Oure Kyng rood forth thanne full good sped,
Into the countrey of Turvyle,

Syr Gylbert Umfervile wol us avayle.
The Lord Whylle, [*query* Willoughby] so God me spede,
Syr Thomas Harpynghame wol not faylle.
Ne Ser Willyam Bouecer, whan we have nede.'
Toward Calys ful fayre they zede,
In to the Contre of Pecardy,
And out of Normandy than they zede,
Now Cryst save all thys company.
Oure Kyng rode forthe, blessyd he be,
He spared nother dale ne downe,
Be townes gret and castelles hy,
Tyll he come to the watyr of Sum.
The Frenche men the breggys had throwe downe,
There over the w ater he myzt not passe.
Oure Kyng he made ham redy bound,
And to the water of Tyevy he com in haste.
Oure Kyng forthe with good spede
In to the Contre of Cornewayle,

Lydgate.

To Agyncourt now as he is ride,
There as oure Kyng dyd his bataile;
Be the water of Swerdys withoute faile,
The Frensshemen oure Kyng thei did aspye,
And there they thought him to asaile,
All in that feld certeynlye.
Wot ye right well, &c.

The Frensshemen hadde oure Kynge umbast,
With bataill strong on every syde;
The Duke of Orlions seyde in hast,
The Kyng of Ingelond with us shall byde,
Ho gaf hym leve this way to ryde?
Be God, me thenke, he was not wys,
Therefore shall y now be hys gyde,
Or that he come to strong Caleys.
Wot ye right well, &c.

The Duke of Braban answerd then,
And seyde, 'be God in Trinite,
To Agyngcort now as we rede,
There as oure Kyng and hys bateyle,
Be the watyr of Swerdes with out fayle
The Frensche men oure Kyng they gan aspye,
And they thowzt hym assayle
All in the felde certanly.
The Lord Haly un trewe Knyzt
Un tel oure Kyng he come in hye,
And sayd, 'Syre zeld zow with oute fyzt,
And save zowre selfe and zowre meyny.'
And oure Kyng bade hym go hys way in hy,
And byde no longer in my syzt.
Be the help of God now full of myzt
The Frensche men hade oure Kyng a bount taste,
With bateylys houge on every syde.
The Duke of Orleance sayd, 'I ham Cryste
The Kyng of Englond with us sall abyde.
Who zaffe hym leve thys ways to ryde?
Therefore,' he sayd, 'I schall be hynggyde
Or than he com at Cales.'
The Deuke of Brabayne answarde than
And sayd, 'be God in Trenyte

Lydgate.

Ther be so fewe of thise Inglysshmen,
I have no deynte them to se;
Alas ! he seyde, what nedith us alle,
To day so many for to comen here,
XX ti of us it will befalle,
Of them on prisonere.'
Wot ye right well, &c.

The Duk of Burbon sware be Seynt Denys,
And other Lordes many on,
'We will goo pleye them at dys,
The Lordys of Ingelond everych on,'
Ther gentilmen seide, 'be swete Seynt John;
Ther archers be sold full fayr plente,
And alle the beste bowemen ich on,
All for a blank of oure mone.'
Wot ye right well, &c.

And thanne answerde the Duke of Barrye,
With wordes that were full mochell of pryde,

They ben so few of Englys in men,
I have no daynte hem to se.
Alas !' he saydde, 'what nedys us to fle?
So many of us for to com here,
XX of ham shall have not on presoner.'
The Duke of Burbon answered, 'be Sent Denys,'
And othere Lordys many one,
'We schall go play hem at dyes
Thes Lordys of Englond everychone'
'The Gentel men,' they sayd, 'be swyte Sente Johne
Thar Archeris they sold full feyere plente,
That sex all of the beste howemen
All for a blanke of owre money.'
The Duke of Lamson sayd with astrene chere,
'And vou to God shall I make,
To take the Kyng of Englond to me presonere,
Or ellys be slayne for hys sake.
His baner,' he sayd, 'y schall downe schake
In feld thys day, zyf I may stond.
Thys other meny y shall gar quake,
And stryke of every Archer is ryzt hond.'
And than answeryd the Deuke of Bare
With wordys that were moche of pryd;

'Be God,' he seyde, 'y wil not sparye, Lydgate.
Over the Englysshmen y thenke to ryde;
And if that they dar us abyde,
We shall overthrowe them alle in fere;
Goo we and slee them in this tyde,
And come hom agen to oure dynere.'
Wot ye right well, &c.

Oure gracious Kyng, that is so good,
He batailyd hym ful rially;
Stakes he hewe doun in a wood,
Beforn our archers pyght them on hy;
Oure ordynaunce the Frensshemen gan aspy,
They that were ordeynyd for to ryde,
They lighted doun with sorwe and cry,
And on their feet their gon abyde.
Wot ye right well, &c.

The Duke of York thanne full son
Before oure Kyng he fell on kne,
'My liege Lord, graunt me a bon,
For his love that on croys gan die,

'Be God,' he sayd, 'I woll not spare
Over zondir Englysshe men for to ryde.
And that they wyll us a byde,
We schall overthrow all y fere.
Gowe and se hem at thys tyde,
And com home agayne tyll our denere.'
Our gracyus Kyng, that is so gode,
He batayled ham ryally.
Stakys he lette hewe doune in a woode.
And pyzt be fore oure archares so fre.
The Frenche men oure ordenance gan aspye,
They that were busked to ryde,
They leyzt a downe with sorwe in heye,
And upone here fete theye gan abyde.
The Duke of Yorke than full sone
Be fore owre Kyng he fell on kne,
'My leche Lorde, grawnte me a bone,

Lydgate.

The fore ward this day that ye graunt me,
To be before yow in this feld;
Be myn baner slayn wil y be,
Or y will turne my backe or me yelde.'
Wot ye right well, &c.

'Gramercy cosyn,' seyde our Kyng,
'Thenk on the right of mery Ingelond;'
And thanne he gaff hym his blessyng,
And bad the Duke he sholde up stond,
'Crist' he seyde 'that shop bothe sone and sonde,
And art Lord and Kyng of myght,
This day hold over me thin holy hond,
And spede me well in al my right.
Wot ye right well, &c.

Help Seynt George, oure Lady knyght,
Seynt Edward that is so fre,
Oure Lady that art Godys bright,
And Seynt Thomas of Caunterbure;'
He bad alle men blithe to be,
And seyde, 'Felas well shall we spede,

The nawere thys day that ye graunt me,
Be fore youe in thys felde
Be my benere sclayne wylle I bee,
Rathere than to move my bake or yelde.'
'Gramarcy, Cossyn,' sayd oure Kyng,
'Thynke on ryzt of merye Englond,'
And than he gave hame all hys blessyng,
And bad the Duke he schulde up stonde.
'Criste,' he sayd, 'that schepe bothe see and sond,
And arte a Kyng of myzt,
This daye holde on us thy holy hond,
And sped me welle in all my ryzt.
Helpe, Sent Jorge, oure Lady knyzt,
Sente Edward, that ys to fre,
Owre Lady, Godys moder, bryzt,
And Sent Tomas of Caunterbery,'
And bad all men blythely to be.
And sayd, 'Felowys we schall wele sped

Lydgate.

Every man in his degre,
I shall yow quyte full well youre mede.'
Wot ye right well, &c.

Oure Kyng seyde, 'Felas what tyme of day?'
'Sire,' thei seyde, 'it is ner pryme;'
'Go we anon to this jornay,
Be the grace of God it is good tyme,
For alle the seyntes that lyn in shryne,
To God for us they be praieng,
The religious of Ingelond all benynge,
Ora pro nobis for us they syng.'
Wot ye right well, &c.

The Kyng knelyd doun in that stounde,
And Englysshmen on every syde
And thries there kyssyd the grounde,
And on there feet gon glyde;
'Crist,' seyde the Kyng, 'as y am thi knyght,
This day me save for Ingelond sake,
And lat nevere that good Reme for me be fright
Ne me on lyve this day be take.
Wot ye right well, &c.

Every man in hys degre,
I schall quyte full well zoure mede.'
Our Kyng sayd, 'felowys what tyme of day?'
'Syre,' they sayd, 'yt is ny pryme.
Go we to thys ilke jornaye,
Be the grace of God hit is good time,
For all the Sayntes, that leve in schryne,
To God fore us they bene preying.
The relegius of Englond all bi on thyng,
Ora pro nobys for us they syng.'
Oure Kyng knelyd doune all in that stownde,
And all the Englys men in eche asyde,
And thryys there thay kyssed the gronde,
And on ther fete gan they stond up ryzte.
'Cryst,' said oure Kyng, 'as I am thy knyzt,
And let never that good reme for me have hyndryng,
Only ne thys daye wylle I never be take,

Lydgate.

'Avaunt baner, withoute lettyng,
Seynt George before, avowe we hyme,
The baner of the Trynyte forth ye bryng,
And Seynte Edward baner at this tyme;
Over,' he seyde, 'Lady Hevene Quene,
Myn own baner with hire shall be;'
The Frensshman seyde al be dene,
Seynt George all over oure Kyng they se.
Wot ye right well, &c.
They triumpyd up full meryly,
The grete bataille togyder yede;
Oure archiers shotte full hertyly,
And made Frensshmen faste to blede;
There arwes wente full good sped,
Oure enemyes therwith doun gon falle,
Thorugh bresplate, habirion, and bassonet yede,
Slayn there were xj thousand on a rowe alle.
Wot ye right well, &c.

Avaunt baner without lettyng
Sant Joyrg be fore eny of myne,
The Banere of the Trenyte, that is Heaven Kyng,
And Sente Edward is baner at thys tyd.
Our Lady,' he sayd, 'that is Haven Quene
Myn oune Baner with her schall abyde.
The Frenche men all be dene.'
Sent Jorge be fore oure Kyng they dyd se,
They trompyd up full meryly,
The grete batell togederes zed.
Oure archorys they schot full hartely,
They made the Frenche men faste to blede,
Her arowys they wente with full good spede.
Oure enemyes with them they bowne throwe
Thorow breste plats, habourgenys and basnets,
XJ M[l] was slayne on a rewe.
Denters of dethe men myzt well deme,
So fercely in felde theye gan fythe.
The heve up on here helmys schene
With axeys and swerdys bryzt.
When oure arowys were at a flyzt,
Amon the Frenche men was a well sory schere.
There was to bryng of gold bokylyd so bryzt,
That a man myzt holde a strong armoure.

Lydgate.

Oure gracious Kyng men myghte knowe,
That day he faught withe his owne hond,
He sparyd nother heigh no lowe,
There was no man his dynt myght stond;
There was nevere no Kyng yit in this lond,
That evere dyd better in a day,
Therfore all Ingelond may synge oo song,
'Laus Deo' we may well say.
Wot ye right well, &c.

The Duk of Gloucestre, that is no nay,
That day full worthyly he wroughte,
On every syde he made good way,
The Frensshemen faste to grounde he brought.
The Erl of Huntyngdon sparyd nought;
The Erl of Oxenford layd on all soo;
The yonge Erl of Devenshire he ne rought;
The Frensshwen faste to grounde gan goo.
Wot ye right well, &c.

Owre gracyus Kyng men myzt knowe
That day fozt with hys owene hond,
The Erlys was dys comwityd up on a rowe,
That he had flayne understond.
He there schevyd oure other Lordys of thys lond,
For sothe that was a full fayre daye;
Therefore all Englond maye this syng,
Laus Deo, we may well saye.
The Duke of Gloucetor, that nys no nay,
That day full wordely he wrozt,
On evry syde he made goode waye,
The Frenche men faste to grond they browzt.
The Erle of Hontyngton sparyd nozt,
The Erle of Oxyn forthe layd on all soo.
The young Erle of Devynschyre he ne rouzt,
The Frenchemen faste to grunde gan goo.
Our Englis men they were foull seker do,
And ferce to fyzt as eny lyone:
Basnetis bryzt they crasyd a to,
And bet the Frenche banerys a doune,
As thonder strokys there was a scownde,
Of axys and sperys ther gan glyd.
The Lordys of Franyse leste her renown

Lydgate.

The Duk of Orlions thanne was woo,
That day was taken prisonere;

With greysoly wondys they gan abyde.
The Frensche men, for all here pryde,
Thay fell downe all at a flyzt.
'Ie me rende,' they cryde on every syde,
Our Englys men they understod nozt a ryzt.
Ther poll axis owt of her hondys they twyzt,
And layde ham a long stryte upon the grasse,
They sparyd nother Deuke, Erlle, ne Knyzt,
There fore, say we, *Deo gracyas.*
And whan that batayll scomfyt was
On the Fryday at after none,
Oure Kyng to hys longyng hys waye he toke,
There as he lay the nyzt be forene,
Tyll hit was Satyrday be the morne.
Throw owzt the fellde he rode agayne.
Now schall ye here of the Lordys that were forlorne,
The Erlle of Mereke that there was slayne,
The Erlle of Rossey, the sothe to saye,
And also the Erle of Borbun.
The Erlle of Drewis went never awaye,
The Erle of Danmartyne dyid that daye.
The Erle of Saynys with all his gent,
The Erle of Grawnte that with owte delaye
And allso the Arsbeschop of Sons.
The Lord Raufermont was nozt absent,
The Lord Daufy, so God me spede.
The Lord Phylyp Daufay of Amyance,
And the Lord Amerey to ground is zelde.
The Lord Robart Fret all in that tyde,
The Lord Waren was slayne in that batayllе,
The Lord Gremeron in that retaylle.
The Lord Valen hewyd that was so stowte,
The Lord Mantance leyd downe the selle,
And the Lord Gonsay for all hys rouzt,
The Lord Gonderet Gantlonyd lonte.
The Lord Donggardon that was so gaye
The Lord Wremzys that was so stoute,
The Lord Mont Goyle, the sothe to say,
The Lord Quenys, as I yow tell,
With the Lorde Dampothe was slayn that day,
And the Lord Gengeret of Dalfoure.
The Duke of Orlyawns, that was full woo,
That day he was take presonere.

The Erl of Ewe he was also; Lydgate.
The Duke of Braband slayn was there;
The Duke of Barre fast hym by;
The Duke of Launson wente nevere away;
Ne the Erle Neverse certeynly,
Ne many other lordes that y cannot say.
Wot ye right well, &c.

The Erl of Rychemond certeynly,
That day was taken in the feld;
The Erl of Vendue was right sory;
And Sir Bursegauut he gan hym yeld;
And thus oure Kyng conqueryd the feld,
Through the grace of God Omnipotent;
He toke his prisoners yonge and olde,
And faire to Caleys ward thanne he went;
The yere of his regne the thridde this was.
Gloria tibi Trinitas.

PASSUS TERCIUS

And there he restyd verrament,
At his owne will whilys that it was,
And shipped thanne in good entent,
And at Dovorr landyd y ges;

The Deuke of Brakand slayne was there,
The Duke of Barefaste hym ly,
The Duke of Lamson went never fere,
Ne the Erlle of Nevres scertaynlye.
Sere Bursygaud he gan yellde,
And thus owre Kyng conquered the fielde,
Thorow the grace of God Omnypotent,
He toke hys presoners young and olde,
And to Kales ffull fayre he wente.

Lydgate.

To Caunterbury full fair he past,
And offered at Seynt Thomas shryne;
From thens sone he rod in hast,
To Eltham he cam in good tyme.
Wot ye right well, &c.

The Mayr of London was repy bown,
With alle the craftes of that cite,
Alle clothyd in red through out the town,
A seemly sight it was to se:
To the Blak heth thanne rod he,
And spredde the way on every syde;
XX^{ti} M^{l} men myght well se,
Our comely Kyng for to abyde.
Wot ye right well, &c.

The Kyng from Eltham sone he cam,
Hyse presenors with hym dede brynge,
And to the Blak heth ful sone he cam,
He saw London withoughte lesynge;
'Heil, ryall London,' seyde oure Kyng,
'Crist the kepe evere from care;'
And thanne gaf it his blessyng,
And praied to Crist that it well fare.

The Mair hym mette with moche honour,
With all the Aldermen without lesyng;
'Heil,' seyde the Mair, 'the conquerour,
The grace of God with the doth spryng;
Heil Duk, heil Prynce, heil comely Kyng.
Most wortheiest Lord undir Crist ryall,
Heil rulere of Remes withoute lettyng.
Heil flour of Knyghts now ever all.

'Here is come youre citee all,
Yow to worchepe and to magnyfye,

To welcome yow, bothe gret and small,
With yow evermore to lyve and dye.'
'Grauntmercy Sires,' oure Kyng gan say
And toward London he gan ride;
This was upon Seynt Clementy's day,
They wolcomed hym on overy syde.

The lordes of Fraunce, thei gan say then,
'Ingelond is nought as we wen,
It farith be these Englishmen,
As it doth be a swarm of ben;
Ingland is like an hive withinne,
There fleeres makith us full evell to wryng,
Tho ben there arrowes sharpe and kene,
Thorugh oure harneys they do us styng.

To London brigge, thanne rood oure Kyng,
The processions there they mette hym ryght,
'Ave Rex Anglor' thei gan syng
'Flos mundi' thei seyde, Goddys knyght
To London brigge whan he com ryght,
Upon the gate ther stode on hy,
A gyaunt that was full grym of syght,
To teche the Frensshmen curtesye.

And at the drawe brigge, that is faste by,
To toures there were upright;
An antelope and a lyon stondyng hym by,
Above them Seynt George oure Lady knyght,
Besyde hym an angell bright,
'Benedictus' thei gan synge,
'Qui venit in nomine Domin' Goddes knyght,
'Gracia Dei, with yow doth sprynge.

Into London thanne rood oure Kyng,
Full goodly there thei gonnen hym grete;
Thorugh out the town thanne gonne they syng,
For joy and merthe y yow behete;

Lydgate.

Men and women for joye they alle,
Of his comyng thei waren so fayn,
That the Condyd bothe grete and smalle,
Ran wyn ich on as y herde sayn.

The tour of Cornhill that is so shene,
I may well say now as y knowe,
It was full of Patriarkes alle be dene,
'Cantate' thei songe upon a rowe;
There bryddes thei gon down throwe,
An hundred there flewe aboughte oure Kyng,
'Laus ejus' bothe hyghe and lowe
'In ecclesia sanctorum' thei dyd syng.

Unto the Chepe thanne rood oure Kyng;
To the Condyt whanne he com tho,
The xij apostelys thei gon syng,
'Benedict anima domino.'
XII Kynges there were on a rowe,
They knelyd doun be on asent,
And obles aboughte oure Kyng gan throwe,
And wolcomyd hym with good entent.

The cros in Chepe verrament,
It was gret joy it for to beholde;
It was araied full reverent,
With a castell right as God wolde,
With baners brighte beten with gold.
And angelys senssyd hym that tyde,
With besaunts riche many a fold,
They strowed oure Kyng on every syde.

Virgynes out of the castell gon glyde,
For joye of hym they were daunsyng,
They knelyd a doun alle in that tyde,
'Nowell,' 'Nowell,' alle thei gon syng.

Unto Poules thanne rood oure Kyng,
XIIII Bysshopes hym mette there right,
The grete bellys thanne did they ryng,
Upon his feet full faire he light.

And to the heighe auter he went right,
'Te Deum' for joye thanne thei gon syng;
And there he offred to God almyght,
And thanne to Westminster he went withoute dwellyng.
In xv wokes forsothe, he wroughte al this,
Conquered Harfleu and Agincourt;
Crist brynge there soules all to blys,
That in that day were mort.

Crist that is oure hevene Kyng,
His body and soule save and se;
Now all Ingelond may say and syng,
'Blyssyd mote be the Trinitie:'
This jornay have ye herd now alle be dene,
The date of Crist I wot it was,
A thousand foure hundred and fyftene.
Gloria tibi Trinitas.

THE NAMES OF

THE DUKES, ERLES, BARONS,

KNIGHTS, ESQUIRES, SERVITEURS,

AND OTHERS THAT WER WITHE THE

EXCELLENT PRINCE

KING HENRY THE FIFTE,

AT THE

Battell of Agincourt,

ON FRYDAY, THE XXVth DAY OF OCTOBER, IN THE YERE OF OUR LORDE GOD, 1415, AND IN THE FIRTE [THIRD] YERE OF HIS REIGNE.[a]

[a] From the *Harleian MS.* 782, collated with a copy in the MS. marked M. 1, in the College of Arms, which is written in French, and appears to have been transcribed from the original.

THE NAMES OF THE DUKES, ERLES, BARONS, KNIGHTS, ESQUIRES, SERVITEURS, AND OTHERS THAT WER WITHE THE EXCELLENT PRINCE KING HENRY THE FIFTE, AT THE BATTELL OF AGINCOURT.

THE DUKE OF GLOWCESTER,

WITH HIS RETYNEW.

LANCES.

Monsr Henry Husee.	James Fenes.
Monsr Robert Roos.	James Crofte.
Monsr WilliamTrussell.	John Oke.
William Harington.	John Reynes.
Richard Baumont.	Walter Strykland.
Geffrey Lowther.	John Aston.
Thomas Burgh.	Peter Mordon.
Conand Aske.	John Clynton.
John Smythes.	Robert Salkeld.
William Hyde.	William Rokhill.
William Cressener,	Thomas Malgraue.[a]
Nicholas Thorley.	John Ward.
Robert Dacre.	George Lampet.
Richard Skelton.	John Enyas.
James P'drich.	Richard Colfox.
Rauf Branspath.	Waulter Shyryngton.

[a] Thomas Malgrave, in the Copy in the College of Arms.

Guy Wytyngton.
Thomas Glouč.
Adam Adrya.
Nicholas Gryffeñ
John Bredfeld.
Nichasin Scot.
Roger Clyderow.
Richard Bytterley.
Richard Wyttuñ.
Richard Hakett.
Nicholas Fitz-Hugh.
William Brygbt.
John Werkerton.
Charles Midelton.
William Barry.
Richard Asshewell.
Roger Smythewyke.
Thomas Wayte.
William Standoñ.
Gyles Burton.
William Curteys.
Richard Colerne.
John de la Lande.
Andrew de Rolf.
John Holme.
John Bekwyth.
Nicholas Coule.

William Coule.[a]
Richard Estnay.
Thomas Hokley.
John Coveley.
Thomas Coveley.
Nicholas Gayte.
Laurence Bucke.
Thomas Wynge.
William Lovell.
Thomas Weylls.
John Pympe.
William Stalworthe.
John Counseill.
Henry Veell.
Richard Moyñen.
William Clopton.
Thomas Weston.
Thomas Wytteney.
John Banester.
Edward Stradlyng.
Richard Kyrkley.
Robert Crophull.
Robert Sydman.
Owaine Hornby.
Edward Hawkañ.
Robert Hillary.
John Wissingtoñ.

[a] Inserted from the copy in the College of Arms.

Thomas Roos.
Mayew Matlow.
Richard Whithed.
John Kyrkham.
William Bolleron.
Thomas Thwayte.
Henry Kelkenny.
Thomas Sewell.
William Paternoster.
Roger Ekyth.
Richard Layland.
Thomas Capper.
Richard Louther.
William Haute.
Hugh Louther.
William Terell.
John Stamford.
John Felde.
John Yonge.
John Kinge.
John Aleyn.
George Counsell.
John Cole.
William Holdelyne.
William Cressewell.
Thomas Sewalle.
Thomas Claypole.

William Hyde.
Hugh Smyth.
John Rygelyn.
William Darset.
Robert Philip.
John Rede.
John Cannidische.
Gryffen Fordet.
Gerard Johnson.
John Salmon.
Bernard Singleton.
Edmond Dacre.
John di Erlesẽh.
Gawayn Salcok.
Thomas Bostoñ
Robert Benote.
Yon Hamond.
John Savgrond.
John de Ware.
Thomas Hakerle.
Thomas Halntoñ.
John Huet.
John Sutton.
Robert Milborn.
Thomas Nele.
William Ogan.
Richard Wyche.

The nomber of LANCES withe the Duke of Gloster .....cxlij

The nomber of the ARCHERS that be here named .....cccc iiij vj

THESE BE THE NAMES OF THE RETINU OF

THE EARL OF MARCHE,

WHICH WAS[a] AT THE BATTILL OF EGYNCOURT.

LANCES,

Leonard Hastinges.	Thomas Lovell.
William Cotesmore.	Richard Baron.
Richard Maydeston.	Robert Moresby.
Thomas Cusak,	William Cornewayle.
Morys Pountayne.	John Daumselle.
Lewys Cornewayle.	John Someners.
John Clifford.	Richard Kemton.
Richard Fulshull.	Stemham Cornysshe.
Degare Gamell.	John Mydelton.
William Halsast.	

LANCES. .xix. . . . . .ARCHERS. .C ij

[a] "Qui furent," in the Copy in the College of Arms.

THERLE OF HUNTINGTON,

WITH HIS RETENU THAT WAS[a] AT THE BATTLE OF EGYNCOURT.

Laurence Dutton.	Thomas Talbot.
Thomas Deell.	William Kylleryen.
William Junnyng.	John Rotyng.
John Loyrñ.	John Cosyñ.
John Quyteley.	John Hard.
William Gyrdeley.	Nicholas Lovell.
Hugh Corton.	William Wymundes-
Yon Elys.	wold.

LANCES. .XVI. . . . . ARCHERS. .XXXV.

THESE BE THE NAMES OF THE RETENU OF THE ERLE MARSHALL,

THAT WAS[a] AT THE BATTELL OF EGYNCOURT WITH THE KINGE.

CHIVALIERS.

Monsr Thomas Rokesby.
Monsr Thomas Lyndeley.
Monsr John Hoton.
Monsr John Geryne.
Monsr John Hevenyngham.

[a] "Qui furent," in the Copy in the College of Arms.

LANCES.

Edmond Rodsam.	John Swynborne.
Robert Holme.	Richard Dulle.
Nicholl Lodewyke.	Edward Wyner.
Robert Bassett.	George Wyñ.
Robert Barde.	Arthur Wyn.
Piers Capell.	Thomas Newson.
Nicholas Dawne.	Thomas Rokeby.
Roger Jonderell.	John Perers.
Roger Radclyfe.	John Lyndeley.
Miles de Beston.	Nicholas Lyndeley.
Robert Leventhorp̃.	William Hagthrop̃.
Thomas Wynter.	John Wardale.
Robert Counstable.	John Holgrane.[a]
John Haytefelde.	John Wytoñ.

LANCES..xxxiij..... ARCHERS..lxxx.

THE RETINUE OF THE

ERLE OF SUFFOLK,

THE FATHER.

Monsr William Spayne.
Monsr Thomas Charles.

[a] John Holgrave, in the Copy in the College of Arms.

LANCES.

Olyver Groos. John Catecombe.
William Argingten. Richard Brycere.
Nicholas Wiseman. William Edward.
John Genney. John Wylby.
William Wynfield. Roger Botoñ.
John Kendall. Thomas Spicer.
John Broke. John Castell.

LANCES. .xvj. . . . . ARCHERS. .lxxi.

THE RETENU OF THE

ERLE OF CAMBRIGGE.

LANCES.

Robert Rokley. William Ward.
Thomas Ward.

LANCES. .iij. . . . . ARCHERS. .vj.

THE ERLE OF OXFORD,

WITH HIS RETENU, THAT WAS[a] AT THE BATTELL OF EGYNCOURT.

LANCES,

Thomas Beston. John Taverner.
John Herny. Edmond Folstolf.

[a] "Qui furent," in the Copy in the College of Arms.

Geffrey Denys.	John Remys.
Robert Wellyng.	Robert Work.
William Preston.	John Bendyshe.
John Edmund.	Thomas Tyringham.
Richard Arderne.	Edmund Preston.
Thomas Balinburgh.	George Laughton.
Richard Worcester.	William Sencler.
John Wolf.	John Balinburgh.
Ranlyn Wardale.	Roger Eston.
John Somerton.	Thomas Stonyngez.
William Petybon̄.	Edmund Taylour.
William Steryn.	John Blacleys.

LANCES. .xxix. . . . . ARCHERS. .lxxix.

THE ERLE OF SUFF',

THE SONNE, THAT WAS AT THE BATTLE OF EGYNC.[a]

Mons[r] John Calf, Chl'r.

LANCES.

William Calf.	William Bromley.
John Colston̄.	Pires Wat'forde.
John Stafford.	John Edward.
William Porter.	Walter Calf.
John Doke.	John Montagu.
John de Chambr'	William Cathorn.

LANCES. .xiiij. . . . . ARCHERS. .xlvj.

[a] Le Counte de Suthfolke le fitz q'fuit tue al Batayle D'agincourt. In the Copy in the College of Arms.

THE RETENU OF

S^R^ DE HARINGTON.

Monsr Thomas Fitzpayn.

Monsr Aleyn fyt de Penyngton.

John Botreux.	Richard Skelton,
John Palton.	John Salkell.
Rauf Arundell.	John Payntour.
Robert Corun.[a]	John Penyngton.
John Chichester.	William Prestoñ.
Nicholas Rudney.	William Laurence.
John Lucombe.	Gilbert Nowell.
Henry Leddred.	Thomas Nevyle.
Thomas Cole.	Nicholas Lamplough.
John Folbroke.	Thomas Broghton.
Richard Hudelston.	Richard Harington.

LANCES. .xxvj. . . . . ARCHERS. .lxxxiij.

THE RETENU OF

S^R^ GERARD UFFLETT.

LANCES.

Thomas Sampson.	Roger Dokwre.
John Scoles.	Thomas Dawner.

[a] Robert Cornu, in the Copy in the College of Arms.

Thomas Bolton. Thomas Magsoñ.
Richard Lytell. Mayhew Horneby.
Robert Browne.

LANCES. .ix. . . . . ARCHERS. .xxxiij.

THE LORD MATREVERS,

WITH HIS RETENU AT THE BATTELL OF EGYNCOURT.

LANCES.

Monsr. Wauter Barkeley.

Henry Tylmayñ. Thomas Poynt?.
John Frompton. John Bavent.
William Moore. Robert Pokeswelle.
Robert Banent?.[a] John Winford.

LANCES. .x. . . . . ARCHERS. .xxxiiij.

THE LORD CAMOYS,

WITH HIS RETENU.

Thomas Hoo.[b] John Bolde.
Thomas Leget. John Ayleward.
William Canvyle. John More.
John Belstede. Robert Kynston.
John Symsby. Thomas Glyspyñ.

[a] Robert Bavent, in the Copy in the College of Arms.

[b] Opposite the name of Thomas Hoo, the word "Lanc'" occurs, in the Copy in the College of Arms.

Symond Codington. William Merlot.
Davy Boydoñ. Lewys Mewys.
John Bredoñ. Thomas Tryskebett?.
John Colmere. John Gode.
John Palmer. Nicholl Ramsell.
John Trussell. Thomas Fitzhenry,
John Oderne. mort al bataile.

LANCES . . xxiiij . . . . . ARCHERS . . lxix.

THE LORD ROOS,

WITH HIS RETENU.

LANCES.

Robert Harington. Nicholas Clyf.
Godefryd Leeke. William Colston.
Henry Normanvyle. John Plumton.
Thomas Bolton. Thomas Rotherham.

LANCES . . ix . . . . . ARCHERS . . xxij.

THE RETENU OF

THE LORD FERRIS,

WHICH WAS AT THE BATTELL OF EGYNCOURT.

William Handsacre. John Broneshelf.
William Draycote. John Walker.
Wauţ Yoñ.

LANCES . . v . . . . . ARCHERS . . ix.

THE RETENU OF THE

LORD SCROPE.

Robert Hopton. Robert Merkynefeild.
Esmond Assheton. William Entwessell.
Robert Rokeby. William de Smeton.

LANCES..vj.....ARCHERS..xiiij

Memorandum that Robert Babthorpe, Knight, Controller of the Kinges Howse, and Sir Rowland Lenthall, Knight, delivered in to the Kinges Excheker, under there handes this account above sayd with these here after mencioned in the forth yere of Kinge Henry the fyfte.[a]

THE RETENU OF

SR ROULAND LENTHALL.

Monsr. Rouland Lenthall.

Bartholomew Sayer. Henry Gerard.
Bradston. John Melyõ[c]
John Bitterlee. Edmond Tyldesle.
Richard Fythiañ.[b] Rys ap Rother.

LANCES..viij.....ARCHERS..xxxiij

[a] "Memorand' quod Robertus Babthorpe miles, Controtulator Hospitii Regis liberavit hic per manus suas proprias hanc cedulam vj die Maij anno regni regis Henrici quinti quinto, Asserens et testificans idem Robertus quod infrascriptas Rolandus Lenthale habuit in obsequio D'ni Regis apud bellum d'Agincourt om'es et singulas personas infra specificatas."—Copy in the College of Arms.

[b] Richard Fythiam, in the Copy in the College of Arms.

[c] John Meylo. *Ibid.*

THE RETENU OF THE
LORD TALBOT.

Lances.

Edward Sprencheux. Nicholas Gryffyth.
William Arthur. Henry Samoñ.
Nicholas Landelle. Filbert Mulborne.
Robert Balle. John Mandevyle.
Robert Sutton. William Flecchcr.
John Dodde. Thomas Wanghall.
Roger Frodesham. Thomas Spaldinge.
John Stanle. John Portingaler.
John Glene. Robert Erdeswyke.
Richard Maule. John Elys.

Lances..xx.....Archers..lv.

THE LORD FITZ-HUGH,

chamberleyn to the kinge, with his retenu.

Monsr. William Fitz-hugh.
Monsr. Geffrey Fitz-hugh.
Monsr. William de Evers.
Monsr. Thomas de Routhe.
} Ch'lrs.

Lances.

William de Rednesse. William de Bony.
John de Thorp. John de Bland.

William de Grandorge. Roger Boleston.
Richard Haldenby. John Scrastowe.
Richard Hamby. Cok Trump̃.
John Barbour. Robert Trumper.
Thomas Aberswyke. Roger Roleston.
Richard Baleston. John Kertyngton.

LANCES..xxj.....ARCHERS..lxxxxij.

SIR THOMAS ERPYNGHAM,

STUARD OF THE KINGES HOUSE WITH HIS RETENU.

Monsr. Hamond Straunge.
Monsr. Wautr. Goldyngham.

John Sterlyng. John Assheman.
Denston Stratton. William Hart.
John Brayston. Piers Thorley.
John Leneny.[a] Brysingham.
John Gegge, Nicholas Gunvyle.
Leonard Straunge.
John Aungers, mort a Caloys.

LANCES..xvj.....ARCHERS..xlvij.

SIR JOHN GREY,

WITH HIS RETENU.

Thomas Salveyn. Robert Lyske.
Edmond Heron. John Horton.

[a] John Leveny, in the Copy in the College of Arms.

Thomas Judde.
Edward Heron.
John de Eryngton.
Richard Habraham.
Richard Acherton.
Henry Writtington.
Triston Leylond.
Adam Egworth.
William Kelde.
Robert Sampson.
John at Wode.
John Hareford.
Richard Peryson.
Thomas Fitzhenry.
George Gray.
William Eworthe.
John de Cramlyngton.
Rouland de Rede.
Thomas Ragge.
Robert Corbet.
John Yorke.
John Reskell.
John Wilson.
Rouland Armestraunge.
William de Charleton.
John de Woller.
Davy Gray.
Thomas Gray de Banburgh.
John de Chester.
Lyell de Chester.

LANCES. .XXXV. . . . . ARCHERS. .lXXXXVj.

SIR ROBERT BABTHORP,

CONTROLLER OF THE KINGES HOWSE, WITH HIS RETENU.

Thomas Babthorp.
Thomas Wisse.
Thomas Hardewyn.
John Wardale.
William Mason.

LANCES. .vj. . . . . ARCHERS. .xviij.

THE RETENU OF

WILLIAM KYNWALMARCHE,

THE KINGES COFERER.[a]

Robert Myrfyn.
Richard Andelaby. } LANCES——ij.

JOHN CHENY,

ESQUIER FOR THE BODY, WITH HIS RETENU.

John Cheyne, iunior.
Thomas Ponns.
John Evingham. } LANCES——iiij.

JOHN STYWARD,

ESQUIER FOR THE BODY, WITH HIS RETENU.

Edmund Hardys.
William Manston.
Thomas Baker. } LANCES——iiij.

NICHOLAS PERCHE,

ESQUIER, WITH HIS RETENU.

LOWIS ROBESART,

ESQUIER, WITH HIS RETENU.

[a] "Cofrer del Hostell du Roy." Copy in the College of Arms.

THE RETENU OF THE SERJENT OF THE COUNTYNGHOUSE.

JOHN FEREBY,

CLARKE OF THE GRENE CLOTH

sike at the castell of Meremont.

WALTER BURTON,

CLARKE OF THE GRENE CLOTH.

THOMAS MORTON,

CLARKE OF THE GRENE CLOTH.

WILLIAM BALNE,

CLARKE OF THE KINGES KYTCHIN.

ROBERT ALDERTON,

UNDER-CLARKE OF THE KYTCHIN.

John Butler.
Rauf Pope.
Henry Bromley.
William Courteney.
Ebull Straunge.
John Elmain.
James Hoget.
Thomas Bolde.

THOMAS STRYKLAND,

BORE THE BANER OF ST. GEORGE.[a]

Edmund Benstede.

[a] "Banerer de la Banere," &c.—In the Copy in the College of Arms.

JOHN RYDER, Esquier,

S^R^GENT OF THE KINGES PALLIE,[a] WITH HIS RETINU.

JOHN BURGH,

WITH HIS RETINU.

Thomas Water.	Gerard Huyn.
John Bryggez.	William Casteleyn.
Rys Robyn.	Andrew Gray.
Robyn Dyeby.	John Asto.
Stephain Ferrõ.	Henry Londe.
John Clement.	Nicholas Reresby.
Robert Hunto.	William Burgoyne.
Robert Helyon.	John Selby.
Thomas Eston.	Richard Etton.
Robert Lacok.	B'rtram de France.
Richard Parker.	William Holt.
William Whitteman.	John Hardgrove.
John Holton.	Laurence Everard.
John Phelipe.	Thomas Corbet.
Thomas Scarlet.	Thomas Stanton.
Robert Quixley.	William Fitzhenry.
Thomas Lychebarow.	William Bradwardyn.
William Bank.[b]	Nicholas Lary.
Nicholas Holand.	Gyles Thordon.
Thomas Apulton.	Thomas Mapurley.

LANCES.....lxij[c].....

[a] "Esquier et S^r^geant de pallie du Roy."—*Ibid.*

[b] William Bauk, in the Copy in the College of Arms.

[c] "Archers souls avaunditz gentilhomes, clxxxv," follows the number of the Lances in the Copy in the College of Arms.

THE GROMES OF THE CHAMBER, THAT WAS AT THE BATELL OF EGEYNCOURT.

Davy Cawardyn.
Oweyn Cawardyn.
William Mynour.
William Malbon.
Robert Soubache.
William Custance.
John Bromley.
John Rys.
William Somercotes.
William Sadeler.
John Burnam.

THE SERVANTES OF THE KINGES HOUSHOLD.

SIR WILLIAM TALBOT, KNIGHT,

WITH HIS RETINU.

Thomas Talbot.
William Sampson.
Thomas Drynok.

LANCES. .iiij. . . . . ARCHERS. .vj.

SIR WALTER HUNGERFORD,

WITH HIS RETENU.

Elis Delamare.
William Chesterton.
Nicholas Poyntz.
Henry Croke.
Wauter Charleton.
John Rous.
Richard Lye.
John Floureyne.
William Arthur.
Nicholas Hampton.
John Tyrell.
John Trystram.

John Halle. Thomas Roley.
John Hall. Thomas Bernard.
LANCES..xvij.....ARCHERS.....lv.

THE RETENU OF SIR THOMAS WEST.

John Trebell, Chtr. William Cordray.
Roger Clyfton. Robert Marnyhille.
Henry Wareyn. John Abryford.
John Radwell. John Lucas.
John Medmengham. William Marmylle.
John Englyclis. John Byngham.
William Morys. John Wassyngton.
LANCES..xiiij.....ARCHERS..xl.

SIR HENRY HUSE,

WITH HIS RETENU.

Richard Bytterley. Roger Smeteeweke.
Richard Wytton. Thomas Wayte.
William Bryght William Standen.
Richard Haket. William Curteys.
Nicholas Fitzhugh. Gyles Burton.
John Werkyngton. Richard Colerne.
Charles Medulton. John de Lelond.
William Barry. Andrew Del Rolf.
Richard Asshehull. John Holme.

Christopher Bosvyle. Nicholas Coule.
John Bekwith. William Coule.
LANCES....xxiij....ARCHERS....xxv.

THE RETENU OF SIR RICHARD HASTINGES.

Radũs Alan. John Leventhorp.
William de Pytton.
LANCES....iij....ARCHERS....viij.

Mons[r a] William Buteler.
Gryffen de Hesketh.
John de Syngleton.
Thomas de Asheton.
Robert de Heton.
} ARCHERS.

Mons[r] Richard Kyghley.
John de Peniton, mort a bataill.
Gybon de Southeworke.
William de Walton.

Mons[r] Thomas Beawmond.
Robert Breton.
Bertram Moucher.
James Clyfton.

[a] The word *Mons[r]*. stands in the margin and might apply to *all* the persons mentioned in that page.—In the Copy in the College of Arms.

Monsr Thomas Percy, ov sa Retenu.
William Fowler.
William Fayrchild.

Monsr John Osbaldesten, Chtr.
John de Malpas.
Richard de Malpas.

Monsr Henry de Skaresbreke, Chtr.
Edward Banester.
Henry Gray.
John Gylle.

Monsr Edmund de la Pole, Chtr.
Richard Doo.
Alan Dalby.

Monsr William Stanely, Chtr.
Henry Hoton.
John Barbour.

Monsr Piers de Legh, ov sa Retenu.
Robert Orell.
Hugh de Orell.
Thomas Sutton.
John Pygott.
George de Asheley.

Mons[r] Rauf de Bostock.
Christopher de Hogh.

Mons[r] John Everingham.
Thomas Everingham.
John Repace.
Thomas Baker.

THE RETENU OF

SIR RAULFE SHYRLEY.

Rauf Fowne.
John Waryn.
John Gloucestre.

Mons[r] John Savage, Chtr.
Randolf de Legh.
Thomas de More.
John le Warde.
John le Heche.[a]

Mons[r] Thomas Rampston, Chtr.
Henry Wychard.
John Barre.
John Bassowell.

[a] John le Leche, in the Copy in the College of Arms.

William Sheffeld.
Thomas Glover.

.....ARCHERS.....cxiiij.

Monsr Richard Radclyf.
Peter de Singleton.
Olyver de Ancotes.

Monsr William Hudelston, Chl^{r}.
Richard Skypton.
William Grene.

Monsr William Cromwell.
Thomas Halyday.

Monsr William de Ligh, Chlr.
William Agglyonby.
William Marnam.
Richard Townley.

William de Holeyns, Lance de
Monsr Thomas Gresele.
Thomas Ferrour de Blythe.
John Massy de Preston.

Robert Sherard. Henry Bromley.
Gregory Ballard. George Haseley.
John Clynke. John Massy.

Roger de Molington. William de Kighley.
Thomas Rugmayn. Rauf de Hayton.
William Warde. Stremũ Sharp.
John de Morley. Thomas Warde.[a]
William de Kyghley.

.....Archers.....lxxxxij.

THE RETENU OF

SIR Wm BOTELER,

WHICH DIED AT HARFLEWE.

Geffron de Hesketh. Thomas de Asheton.
John de Singleton. Robert de Hoton.

THE RETENU OF

SIR NICHOLAS LONGFORD,

WHICH GOD ASSOILE.

Robert Redyche. Henry Walker.
Rauf Byrches.

HERTANKE,

WITH HIS RETENU.

Frederyk Scoffe. James de Shaterton.
Richard Wellys. William Massy.
John de Leche. Christopher de Preston.

[a] In the Copy in the College of Arms, his name stands between those of William Ward and John de Morley.

Nicholas de Reresby. Robert Radclif.
Raulf de Pole. Robert Qwyley.
Richard Hamys. John de Massy.
John Standisshe. John Done.

LANCES.....C.

William Massy. Thomas de Wombwell.
Nicholas Haywode. Edmund deNormanville
Adam de Whytingham. William de Wombwelle
George Benet, Corde-
wener de Roy.

[LANCES.]..vij.....ARCHERS..xxiiij. iij.

WILLIAM NOT,
CAPYTANE DEZ MASONS.

MASONS .....xxiij.

Archers of the Erle of Lancaster, which was assigned for the Kinges Retenu, our Sovereign Lord. } CCix.

Archers of therle Chester, that was of the Retenu of our Soveraigne Lord the King. } xx. Ciiij.

THE RETENU OF
THOMAS CHACER.

Simon Haule. Thomas Bulthorp.
Robert Hanle.[a] William Herny.

[a] "Hauley." In the Copy in the College of Arms.

Thomas Hardy. Thomas Cowle.
John Byngley. John Gronevyle.
John Dirikson.

LANCES.....ix.....ARCHERS....xxxvij

THE RETENU OF

NICHOLAS MERBY.[a]

Waryn Waldegrave. John de Asheton.
William Hudleston. John Longshaw, ma-
William Ducworth. lade a Harfler.

Servants in fee with the Kinge, that was under the goverment of the Kinge.

SIR JOHN ASHETON, KNIGHT,

WITH HIS RETENU.

John Asheton. Maister Thomas de
Roger de Mylvehows. Conynghoplane.

Sergeantz du Roy.....viij.[b]

THE RETENU OF

WILLIAM MERYNG.

[a] Nicholas Merbery. In the Copy in the College of Arms. [b] vij. *Ibid.*

THE RETENU OF

SIR JOHN PILKINGTON.

John Kay.
Roger Kay.
William Lee.

LANCES.....x.....ARCHERS.....xlv.

SIR WILLIAM PHELIPE,

WITH HIS RETENU.

Thomas Holwyscout.[a]
William Gode.
John Barnard.
Thomas Poley.
Robert Hemnale.
Jacob Denys.
William Kemston.

LANCES.....viij.....ARCHERS.....xxix.

SIR WILLIAM BOURCHIER,

WITH HIS RETENU.

Monsr Roger Aston.
Monsr Richard Walgrave,
Monsr John Suert.

Thomas Arblastier.
Walter Verney.
John Hampton.
Richard Halys.
William Franceys.
John Newland.
William Gwyñ.
Guy Duke.
Edward Mackwilliam.
Richard Kempe.

[a] "Thomas Holwyscout." In the Copy in the College of Arms.

Rauf Boteler.
William Gulby.
William Mareys.
Waulter Haket.
Thomas Spencer.
John Gryffeth.

William Tendrynge.
John Gaywode.
John Saxton.
John a Thomas.
Nicholas Gomond.

LANCES...XXV.....ARCHERS..$\overset{xx.}{iiij}$ i.

Alexander Sheffe, Overseer of Harfleu.[a]
William Bramshulf, taken at Fescame.
Geffrey Blake, killed befor Mustererilers.
Lewis Cadowen, killed befor the Battell.

Monsr John Cornewayle.
Monsr John Harpeden.

Henry Yevelton.
Richard Drayton.
Thomas Wenlock.
William Lowdsop.
Roger White.
Gerard Askyn, ov deux archers.
John Plome.

John Cornwayle.
John Garrew, pš a bataill.
John Hynton.
John Gryffyth.
Thomas Cramford.
Robert Wyfeld.

Walter Colepeper.
Edward Colepeper.
} ov v. Archers.

John Codington.
John Sampson.

Henry Sparke.
Thomas Eustace.

[a] "*Expectant a* Harfleu." In the Copy in the College of Arms.

John Burton. Henry Myles.
Thomas Southerne. John a Wode.
Edward Tyberay. John Kynner.
Laurence Chipendene. Thomas Brugge.
Robert Blosme. Misted.
William Chippenham. John Kelly.
Hugh Tangley.

Thomas Gifford, came into England from Harfleu, sicke.

Nicholas Bromford with iv Archers, went into England from Harfleu, sicke.

Roger Wisse. Ellingham.
Peres. Hugh Tangley.
Thomas Crusak.[a]

LANCES. .XXXIX. . . . . ARCHERS. .CXIX.

SIR WILLIAM HARINGTON,

WITHE HIS RETENU.

William Harington. Thomas Fitzhenry.
John Pykeringe. John Mawsore.
John Staynton. Rauf Westby.
Robert Gawnfield. John Fitzhenry.
Maykn Crofte. Robert Thornour.
John Bradshawe. Jacob Bery.

LANCES. .XIIJ. . . . . ARCHERS. .XXVIIJ.

[a] Thomas Cusak. In the Copy in the College of Arms.

THE RETENU OF
JOHN DE WATERTON.

John Wastnys, malade a Harfler.
John Bowchier.
James Wychington.
Bernard Seyvill.
Robert Longesby.
John Tournay.
William Sutell.[a]

Be[b] it Remembered that Robert Babthorp Knight controler of the Kinges house did delyver to the Barons of the King's Exchequer by the comandement of the Kinge the xix. day of November In forth yere of our Sovereigne Lord the Kinge this Rolle conteyning xviij prestes, the last prest indentyd with this Bill the which Rolle conteynethe parcell of the names of the men that was with the Kinge at the Battell of Egyncourt that is to saye the second and in the 3 yere of his Reigne for execution to be done

[a] Under these names, "Summa totalis istius Rotuli——viijc xij lances. Summa tot' istius Rotuli iijM lxxiij Sagitarr'." In the Copy in the College of Arms.

[b] Faict a remembr' q' Robert Babthorp Ch'l'r Countreroller del Hostell n're Sr le Roy m' livre as barons del Exchequer n're dit Sr le Roy p' commaundement du Roy le xixme iour de Novembr' l'an n're dit Sr le Roy quart cest Rolle contenant xviij prestes le darreyn prest endente ovesq' iceste bille lequelle Rolle contient parcell de lez nomz des genz q' furent ovesq' le Roy al bataille de Agencourt c'est assavoir le s'c'de quant de l'an de son regne tierce par execution eut faire pur le p'fit n're dit Sr le Roy et laquele bille einsi prist du d'te Rolle est livre par lez ditz Barons al avauntdit Mons. Robert.

for the profyte of our sovereigne Lord the Kinge, the said bill so taken from the said Rolle was delyvered by the said Barons unto the aforesaid Sir Robert Babthorp.

The following notices relative to the Battle of Agincourt, though taken from the same MS. volume as the preceding list of men-at-arms, were not connected with them. From many subsequent corrections having been made in the baptismal names of the Noblemen, who are said to have been present at the Battle, it is manifest that it was not copied from any authentic record. Their insertion seemed, however, to be desirable.

THE NAMES OF FRENCHE MEN SLAYNE AND TAKEN PRESONERS IN THE TYME OF KING HENRY THE V. AT THE BATTELL OF AGYNCOURT A° Dm̃ M.CCCCXV.

Charles, Duc of Orliance, father to Lewis the XII, Kinge of France of that name. }
The Duc de Dalencon. } PRISENORS.
The Countie Eu.
The Countie Vendosme.
The Countie Richemond.

The Duc of Bourbon. }
The Duc of Brabant.
The Duc of Cleves.
The Duc of Baviere.
The Countie de Nevers.
The Countie de Namur.
The Countie de Haynold.
The Countie de Fois.
The Countie de Lestrake. } MORTZ.
The Countie de Vertuz.
The Countie de Tankrvil.
Le Sr de Rambures.
Le Sr de Gamaches.
Le Sr de Torcy.
Le Sr de Delaheuse.
Le Sr de Dārcherer.
Le Sr de Mangny.

Le Sr de Hengnevil.
Le Sr de Preaulx.
Le Sr de Fountannes.
Le Sr de Ferieres.
Le Sr de Beaumesirl.
Le Sr de Hambye.
Le Sr de Romnrow.
Le Sr de Trecy.
Le Sr de Crenley.
Le Sr de Tylly.
Le Sr de Chamboy.
Le Sr de Gacey.
Le Sr de Urpont.
Le Sr de Challenay. } MORTZ.
Le Sr de Sillie.
Le Sr de Ducey.
Le Sr de Dasse.
Le Sr de Nonens.
Le Sr de Suze.
Le Sr de Sable.
Le Sr de Virt.
Le Sr de Parteney.
Le Sr de Dalbreth, that was Constable of France, and dyvers other Knightes unto the nomber of 2400, given by Declaration of Mount Joy, Kinge of Armes of France.

And for that Sir William Tyboninlle, Lord of de la Riviere, gathered of the ennemyes unto the nomber of $\overset{M}{xx}$ men of ware, under the White Pennon, to have geven a newe battell, the said victorious prince, King Henry the Vth caused to be cryed through his host that every man should kille his pryssoner, and that was the cause that all the Nobles was killed.

And in this Battell of the part of the said Victorious Prince, was killed theis Lords as followithe :—

The Duc of Yorke.
The Countie de Suff.
Le Sr de Richard Kykelley.
Davy Game, Esquier of Wales,
And x Archers.

KNIGHTS MADE AT THE BATAILL OF AGINCOURT.

KNIGHTS MADE.

Sir John Feries.
Sir Ranolde Graystoke.
Sir Peter Tempest.
Sir Xpoter Morisby.
Sir Thomas Pekeringe.
Sir William Hodelston.
Sir John Hosbalton.

The names of the Nobles of England, that was with the Kinge at the Battayll of Agyncourte:—

Humfrey, Duke of Gloucester.
Edward, Duke of Yorke, slayn.
Conte de Huntyngton.
Edmond, Conte de Marche.

Richard, Conte de Oxinford.
Edward, Conte Devenshier.
Gilbert Humfreyvil, Conte de Kyme.
John, Sire de Roos.
Thomas, Sr de Willoughby.
John, Sr de Clyfford.
John, Sr de Beauchamp.
Le Sr de Spencer, et de Bourgaveney,
et Conte de Worcester.
Le Sr de Fitz Hugh.
Le Sr de Clynton.
Le Sr de Ferieres Groby.
Le Sr de Feriers Chartelley.
Le Sr de Cameys.
Le Sr de Bewser.
Le Sr de Harington.
Le Baron de Carew.

withe many other to the nomber of viij^{c} Sperres, viij^{M} Archers come from Hareflette to Agyncourte, where was of Frenchmen c.m.^{l} l.m.^{l} men.[a]

[a] *i. e.* 150,000.

THE

RETINUE OF KING HENRY THE FIFTH

IN HIS FIRST VOYAGE,

3 HENRY V.

All the following statements, unless other authorities are cited, are from the unpublished Collections for *Rymer's Fœdera*, in the Sloane MS. 6400 in the British Museum, excepting those to which this † mark is prefixed, which are taken from the List of Persons in the Calendar to the Norman Rolls, printed by Carte, who received letters of protection, or of general attorney, in consequence of being engaged to accompany the King in the expedition. When the mark is within a parenthesis, thus (†) it indicates that the name occurs both in the Sloane MS. 6400 and on the Norman Rolls.

THE RETINUE OF HENRY THE FIFTH.

	MEN-AT-ARMS.		HORSE ARCHERS.	FOOT ARCHERS.
† Thomas, Duke Clarence[a]	240	1 Earl, 2 Bannerets, 14 Knights, 222 Esquires.	720	
Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester ..	200	6 Knights, 193 Esquires.	600	
(†) Edward, Duke of York[b]	100	1 Baron, 4 Knights, 64 Esquires	300	
Thomas, Earl of Dorset	100	1 Banneret, 6 Knights, 92 Esquires.	300	
(†) Richard, Earl of Cambridge ..	60	2 Knights, 57 Esquires.	160	
(†) Thomas, Earl of Salisbury.[d] ..	40	3 Knights, 36 Esquires.	80	
John, Earl Mareschal.	50	4 Knights, 45 Esquires.	150	
Esmond, Earl of March.....	60	1 Banneret, 3 Knights, 55 Esquires.....	160	
Thomas, Earl of Arundell.....	100	7 Bannerets, 3 Knights, 89 Esquires.....	300	
Michael, Earl of Suff'.....	40	2 Knights, 37 Esquires..	120	
Earl of Oxford....	40	.....	100	
Earl of Huntingdon	20	.....	40	
John, Earl of Huntingdon.[e].....	20	.....	60	

[a] See the copy of the Agreement between the King and the Duke, dated 29th April, 1415, *Fœdera*, vol. ix. pp. 227, 228.

[b] *Ibid.* [c] *Ibid.* p. 250. [d] *Ibid.* p. 230.

[e] It appears from a memorandum in another part of the volume from which the above was taken, that the Retinue of the Earl of Huntingdon, consisted of 20 Men-at-Arms and 40 Archers in April, 1415, *Fœdera*, vol. ix. p. 226, but that in May following, it had increased to 20 Men-at-Arms and 60 Archers. *Ibid.* p. 325.—In the list in the text, the same names are sometimes mentioned twice, and which entries might refer to different persons; but it may most commonly be assigned to the same cause as that from which the double entry of the Earl of Huntingdon's retinue arose: hence, in calculating the King's Army, it is the safest plan to reckon such names *once* only, but to take the greatest number of which their respective retainers are said to have consisted.

	MEN-AT-ARMS.		HORSE ARCHERS.	FOOT ARCHERS.
John, Sire Mautravers	20	1 Knight, 18 Esquires		40
† John, [Thomas] Sire de Camoys.	30	2 Knights, 27 Esquires.	60	
William, Sire la Zouche	20	2 Knights, 17 Esquires.		40
(†) William, Sire de Botreaux	20	2 Knights, 17 Esquires.	40	
William, Sire de Willoughby	30	2 Knights, 27 Esquires.	60	
Henry, Sire Lescrop.[a]	30	3 Knights, 26 Esquires.	90	
John, Sire de Harington	30	3 Knights, 26 Esquires.	90	
Henry, Sire Fitz Hugh	30	3 Knights, 26 Esquires.	90	
Gilbert, Sire de Talbot[b]	30	2 Knights, 27 Esquires.	90	
(†) John, Sire de Clifford[c]	30		30	
John, Sire de Roos.	20			40
(†) Hugh, Sire de Bourgchier	20			40
(†) William, Sire de Clynton	20			40
(†) Esmon, Sire de Ferrers.[d]	12			36
(†) Thomas, Baron Carew, Chival[r]	12			24
John Grey de Ruthyn, Chival[r]	15			45
Edward Courtenay, Chivaler	30			90

[a] See his agreement with the King, dated 29th April, 1415, *Fœdera*, vol. ix. p. 231.

[b] Gilbert, Lord Talbot, petitioned the King, stating that he had agreed to provide 30 men-at-arms, and requesting that he might have two "Bacheliers" in his company, and that he and the said two "Bacheliers," might form three of the said thirty men-at-arms, "partiantz les gages encelle partie ordeignez en overe de charite," with which petition the King complied. *Ibid.*

[c] See his agreement with the King. *Ibid.*

[d] See *Fœdera*, vol. ix. p. 272.

	MEN-AT-ARMS.	HORSE ARCHERS.	FOOT ARCHERS.
(†) Thomas West, Chivaler, in the King's retinue	20		60
(†) Richard, Lord Grey of Wilton.		Arblestrs a pce.	
John, Sire de Seint Pee	20	20	80
† William Acun, *alias* William de Gelria.[a]			
John Agarston, Esq			3
Nich. Alderwich, Esq.[b]	3		9
Nich. Alderworth, Esq[b]	3		9
John Alsoo, Esq.[c]			3
Trustan Anderton, Esq			2
† John Ap Henry, Esq.			
† John Ap Rees, of the County of Carmarthen, Esq.			
Thomas Apurton, Esq			3
† John Artour, Esq.			
(†) Richard Arundell, Knt.[d]	1	30	
† John Arundell, Esq.			
† William Asehull, Esq.			
John Asehull, Esq	1	30	
† John Ashburnham, Esq.			
Robert Ashfield, Esq.[e]		3	
John Ashton, Knight		3	9
Nich. Ashton, Esq			3
John Ask, Esq.			
William Athirton, Esq			2
Nich. Athirton, Esq		2	
(†) William Atte Lee, Esq.[f]			2
John Attilbrigge		3	
(†) Robert Babthorp, Esq	5		15
(†) John Bagot	3		9
Gregory Ballard			3
William Balne, Clerk of the Kitchen			3
Roger Banastre, Esq			2

[a] *Fœdera*, vol. ix. p. 249. In the retinue of the Duke of Clarence.

[b] Probably the same person.

[c] Query, the John Asto, Esq. who contracted to furnish three mounted archers, 29th April, 1415, Harleian Charters, 43, E. 39.

[d] *Fœdera*, vol. ix. p. 249, in which he is described as the King's cousin.

[e] Harleian Charters, 43 E. 39.

[f] He obtained letters of protection from the King, in May, 1415, for one year, being engaged for that period in his service beyond the sea. *Fœdera*, vol. ix. p. 248.

	MEN-AT-ARMS.	HORSE ARCHERS.	FOOT ARCHERS.
John Banystre, Esq. et al'			
† Sire William Bardolf, Knight.			
Randulphe de Barton, Esq			2
Oliver de Barton, Esq			2
Gilb. Barton, Esq		2	
(†) John Baskerville, Knight.[a]	2		6
† Philip Basset, Esq. in the retinue of Lord Botreaux.			
(†) John Bauk, Esq. in the King's retinue[b]			2
(†) Walter Beauchamp, Esq.[c]	4	12	
(†) Charles de Beaumond, Knight	4	12	
William Bedik, Esq			2
John Bell, Esq			3
† William Bernard, Esq.			
† John Bernhous, Esq.			
† William Beruman, in the retinue of the Earl of Huntingdon.			
† Thomas Berwick, Esq.			
(†) John Blaket, Esq.[c]	2		6
William Blakebourne, Esq			3
John Blount, Knt	20		60
James Blount, Esq			3
Adam de Blundell, Esq			3
(†) Henry Blundel, Esq			3
Thomas Bold, Esq			3
Robert Bolron, Esq			2
William Bourchier, Knt	30	90	
Nicholas Bowet, Esq			3
Thomas Bowet, Esq			3
† Sir William Bowet.			
† John Botreaux, Esq.			
† Nicholas Bradeston, Esq. in the retinue of Sir John Phelip.			
(†) William Bradshaw, Esq.			3
William Brancepath, Esq			2
† John de Bristow.			

[a] He obtained letters of protection from the King, in May 1415, for one year, being engaged for that period in his service beyond the sea. *Fœdera*, vol. ix. p. 248, in which he is described as John Baskerville of Hereford, Knight. Sir John Baskerville was not present at Agincourt, having been left at Harfleur. See *Rot. Parl.* iv. pp. 72 and 210.

[b] *Ibid.*

[c] See APPENDIX, No. X. Both Walter Beauchamp and John Blaket were Knights in January, 1417.

	MEN-AT-ARMS.	HORSE ARCHERS.	FOOT ARCHERS.
William Brokesby	2		6
† Bartholomew Brokesby, Esq.			
† William Bromeshulf, Esq.			
(†) Henry Bromley, Esq.			3
† Robert Browe, Esq. in the retinue of the Duke of York.			
†Robert Bruce, Esq.			2
Marice Brune.			
Bawdewyn Bugge, Esq	1	3	
Thomas Burcestre, Esq			3
John Burgh, Esq.	3		9
William Burgoyne, Esq.[a]		3	
Wauter Burton.			3
William Burton, Esq			3
† Sir Thomas Burton, Knight.			
William Butill, Knt.	10		30
John Butiller, Esq			3
† Sir William Butiller, Knight.			
† Robert Butvileyn, Esq.			
Robert Castle, Clerk of the Marshalcy.			
William Castellaine, Esq.			3
† Richard de Chaderton, Esq.			
(†) Robert Chalons, Knt.	3	9	
† Robert Chamberlain, Esq.			
† Roger Chambre, Esq.			
† Seman Champayne, Esq.			
† Sir Thomas Charles, Knt.			
† Walter Charleton, Esq. in the retinue of Sir Walter Hungerford.			
Thomas Chaucer, Esq.	12		30
Thomas Chaucer, Esq	2	36	
(†) Thomas Chauworth, Knt.[b]	8		24
John Chenduit, Esq.			2
† William Chesterton, Esq.			
John Chetewood, and 3 more Esquires			12
(†) John Chetewynd, Esq.			3
John Cheyne, Esq[c]	4		12

[a] Harleian Charters, 43 E. 39.

[b] He obtained letters of protection in May, 1415, from the King, being engaged in his service for one year, beyond the sea. *Fœdera*, vol. ix.

[c] An interesting letter from this person shortly before he embarked, will be found in the APPENDIX, No. XV.

	MEN-AT-ARMS.	HORSE ARCHERS.	FOOT ARCHERS.
John Clement Esq[a]		3	
†John Clerk, Esq.			
John Clifford, Esq	20		40
† Sir William Clinton, Knt.			
John Clyfford, Esq			3
John de Clyfford, Esq			3
† Thomas Clyfton, Esq.			
(†) Johe Clyk, Esq			2
† Sir Reginald Cobham of Scarborough, in Surrey, Knt.			
† John Colshull, Esq.			
John Colvyl, Knt.			
(†) John Conway, Esq			2
(†) Thomas Corbet, Esq			3
(†) John Cornwall, Knt	30		90
John Covyn, Esq			2
(†) Edward Courtenay, Knt	30		90
William Courtenay, Esq	2		6
† Ralph Cromwell, Esq.			
† Robert Crewys, in the retinue of Sir Edward Courtenay			
† John Curson, Esq.			
† Reginald Cuyteys.			
† Hugh Cuytenys, Esq.			
† Robert Dacre, Esq			
† John Dalberney, Esq.			
John Daytas, Esq	10		30
† Robert de la Mare, Esq.			
† Elia de la Mare, Esq.			
† Ralph de la Pole, Esq.			
† Michael de la Pole, son of the Earl of Suffolk.			
† Alfonso Delonade, Esq.			
John Devereux, Knt	250		250
† Edward Dodyngsley, Esq.			
† John Doke, Esq. in the retinue of the Earl of Suffolk			
† John Dornesayn, Esq.			
Thomas Dulton, Knt	10	30	
John Durward, Esq.			
† John Dymock, Esq.			
† John Edwards, Esq. in the retinue of Michael, son of the Earl of Suffolk.			

[a] Harleian Charters, 43 E. 39.

[b] *Fœdera*, vol. xi. p. 249.

	MEN-AT-ARMS.	HORSE ARCHERS.	FOOT ARCHERS.
† Sir Abdrea Eketon, Knt.			
John Elmham, Esq	.....	.....	3
(†) Thomas Erpyngham, Knt.	20	60	.....
John Esmond, Esq	2	.....	6
† William Esteney, Esq.			
Thomas Eston, Esq	.....	.....	3
† James Ethevenes of Cornwall, Gent. in the retinue of Nicholas de Haywode, Esq.[a]			
Richard Etton, Esq	.....	.....	3
Laurence Everard, Esq	.....	3	
† John Everard, Esq.			
John Everdon, Clerk ..... 2 Clerks	.....	.....	4
(†) John Fastolfe, Esq[b]	10	.....	30
Simon Felbrigge, Knt	12	.....	36
John Feriby, Clerk of the Warderobe	.....	.....	3
Stephen Ferrour, Esq	.....	.....	3
Henry Filongley	.....	.....	2
William Fitz Henry	.....	.....	3
John Fitz James de Radcliffe	6	.....	18
William Fitz John de Radclyffe	.....	.....	2
John Folville	.....	.....	3
(†) Henry Fowler	.....	.....	2
Bertram de France	.....	2	
† John Freysill, in the retinue of Thomas, Earl of Dorset.			
Roger Fyenes, Knt	8	.....	24
David Game, Esq	.....	.....	3
Richard Gardemewe, Esq	.....	.....	2
† William de Gelria *alias* William Acun.[c]			
† John Gegge, Esq.			
† John Gerard of London, Esq.			
Robert Gloucestr' Esq	1	.....	3
† Sir Walter Goldyngham, Knight.			
John Graa, Esq	2	.....	3
Richard Granson, Knt	2	.....	6
† William Grantham.[d]			
(†) Thomas Gray, Knt.[e]	24	.....	48

[a] *Fœdera*, vol. ix. p. 249.

[b] See his agreement with the King, dated 8th June, 1415, *Fœdera*, vol. ix. p. 270.

[c] See Acun.

[d] *alias* Taverner Sondeur, late Woolpacker and Citizen of London, in the retinue of the Duke of Gloucester. *Fœdera*, vol. ix. p. 249.

[e] *Ibid.* p. 270.

	MEN-AT-ARMS.	HORSE ARCHERS.	FOOT ARCHERS.
† Sir John Grender, Knight.			
† John Grenfeld, Esq.			
(†) Thomas Greseley, Knt	3		9
John Greseley, Knight	2		6
† Andrew Grey, Esq			3
† John Grey of Ingilby in Lincolnshire, Esq.			
John Greyndor, Knt	10		30
† James Grigg of London, Esq. in the retinue of Michael, son of the Earl of Suffolk.[a]			
† Oliver Groos, Esq.			
John Haland, Esq			3
Nich. Haland, Esq			3
Richard Halsham, Esq			3
William Hardgrave, Esq		3	
John Hardgrove, Esq		3	
William Hardgrove, and 3 more Esquires.			12
† William Hardrone, Esq.			
† John Harpeden, in the retinue of Sir John Cornwall.			
† John Harpour of Birmingham, Esq.			
James Harington, Knt	6		18
James Harington, Knt.	10		30
(†) William Harington, Knt	10		30
† Sir Robert Haryngton, Knt.			
Richard Hastings, Knt.	8		28
Stephen Hatfeld, Esq	2		6
(†) Thomas Hauley, Knt. in the retinue of the King.	2		6
† Richard Hay of the County of Hertford, Esq			2
(†) Nicholas Haywode, Esq[a]			3
(†) Robert Helyon, Esq.[b]		3	
John ap Henry, Esq	2		6
Thomas ap Henry, Esq	2		6
† Henry Herlyngton, Esq.			
† Sir John Heron, Knt.			
Robert Heton, Esq			3
(†) John Hobildod, Esq			2
William Hodilston, Esq			3

[a] He received letters of protection from the King in May, 1415, being engaged for one year in his service beyond the sea. *Fœdera*, vol. ix.

[b] Harleian Charters, 43 E. 39.

	MEN-AT-ARMS.	HORSE ARCHERS.	FOOT ARCHERS.
Jacob Hoget, Esq.	.....	.....	3
† John Holland, Esq. in the King's retinue.			
(†) William Holt, Esq	.....	.....	3
†) John Holton, Esq	.....	.....	3
John Horsey, Esq	.....	.....	3
(†) Nich. Horton, Esq	.....	.....	3
(†) William de Hudelston, Esq.	.....	.....	2
Wauter Hungerford, Knt	20	60	
Robert Hunt, Esq	.....	.....	3
† Sir Hugh Husee, Knt.			
Gerard Huyn, Esq	.....	.....	2
† Walter Intebergh, Esq. in the retinue of the Duke of Clarence.			
Lewiz Johan, Esq	2	.....	 6
John Irby, Esq	1	.....	 2
John Ireby, Esq	.....	.....	2
Richard Kighley, Knt	6	.....	 18
John Kilner, Esq	.....	.....	3
† Gilbert Kirton, the King's servant, late servant of Henry IV.			
William Kynwolmersh, Coffrer	3	.....	 9
Robert Lacock, Esq.	.....	.....	3
John Langville, Clerk of the Spicery	.....	.....	3
John Lardener, Esq.			
Nich. Lary, Esq	.....	.....	3
Robert Laurence, Esq	2	.....	 6
Roger Leche, Knt	20	.....	 60
Philip Leche, Knt	3	.....	 9
† William Leche, Esq.			
William de Legh, Knt	3	.....	 9
Rowland Leynthale, Knt	12	.....	 36
† Thomas Lewknor, Esq.			
† Thomas Loppewynch, in the retinue of the Earl of Dorset.			
Henry Lound, Esq[a]	.....	3	.....
Alisaundre Lound, Knt[b]	2	.....	 6
(†) Robert Lovell, Esq	2	.....	 6
John Louch, Esq.	.....	.....	1
Peter Lowart, Esq	6	.....18 Balistiers.	

[a] See his agreement with the King, dated 12th May, 1415. *Fœdera*, vol. ix.

[b] Harleian Charters, 43 E. 39.

	MEN-AT-ARMS.	HORSE ARCHERS.	FOOT ARCHERS.
† Edmund Lunarsegge, Esq.			
† John Lynton, Esq.			
(†) Thomas Lythebarowe, Esq			3
Thomas Mapurley, Esq			3
(†) William Marshall, Esq			3
† John Massy, in the retinue of the Earl of Dorset.			
† Robert Meducrost, in the retinue of the Duke of Gloucester.			
Nich. Merbury, Esq			18
Nich. Merbury, Esq			3
† Richard Merbury, Esq.			
† John Merny, Esq.			
Thomas Merston, Esq. in the retinue of the Duke of Clarence.			
† William Meryng, Esq			3
† Robert Michel, Esq. in the retinue of Sir Thomas West, Knt.			
† Thomas Montpellers of Badburgham, Esq.			
Thomas Moreton, Clerk of the Warderobe.			3
John Morley, Esq			2
† Sir Thomas Morley, Knt.			
(†) Thomas Morstede, Esq. Surgeon			3
† John Mortymer, Esq.			
Wm. Mounteney, Esq			3
Nich. Mountgomery le filz, Knt	3		9
Nich. Mountgomery le filz, Esq	3		9
John Mountgomery, Esq			3
Hugh de Mourton, Esq			3
† Henry Noon, Esq.			
John Noreys, Esq. Cap[t] of Cournay	1		9
Nich. Norton, Esq			3
† Thomas Norton, Esq.			
† Bishop of Norwich.			
(†) John Nowell, Esq			2
William Olton, Esq			2
William Orell, Esq			2
John Osbaldeston, Esq		2	
† John Palton, Esq.[a]			
Rich[d] Parker, Esq			3
Robert Passemere, Esq		2	
Stephen Payne, Almoigner			3

[a] *Fœdera*, vol. ix. p. 271.

	MEN-AT-ARMS.	HORSE ARCHERS.	FOOT ARCHERS.
Henry Pemberton, Esq			2
(†) Thomas Percy, Knt.[a]	2		6
(†) Henry de Percy, Knt	6	18	
† John Perrore, *alias* Tournour, in the retinue of Sir William Legh, Knt.			
John Peryent, Esq	3		9
(†) John Phelipp, Knt	30		90
John Pilkington, Esq			3
William Pole le filz	20		60
(†) Martin Pole, Esq			3
Rauf de Pole, Esq			2
Rauf Pope, Esq			3
William Pope, Esq			3
William Porter, Knt.			
† John Prideaux, Esq.			
John Pudsey, Esq.			
Robert Quikkesley, Esq			3
John Radclyff, Knt.			
Richard Radclyff, Knt	3		9
Robert Radclyffe de Osbalton, Esq			2
Thomas Radclyffe, Esq			3
Rauf Ramsey, Esq			2
(†) John Rash, Esq.[b]			3
Thomas Rempston, Knt	8		24
Nich. Rerisby, Esq			2
John Rider, Esq			3
Thomas Rigmaiden, Esq		2	
Lowys Robbesard, Esq			3
(†) John Robessart, Knt		18	6
† Sir Thomas Rokesby, Knt.			
† William Rokhill, Esq. in the retinue of the Duke of Gloucester.			
(†) Rob[t] Rothington, Esq			3
(†) John Roundell, Esq			2
John Rydere, Esq			3
† Roger Salveyn, Esq.			
† John Sampson of Plymouth,[c] in the retinue of Sir John Cornwall.			
† Peter Sancy, Esq.			

[a] He obtained letters of protection from the King for one year, being engaged in his service beyond the seas. *Fœdera*, vol. ix.

[b] *Fœdera*, vol. ix. [c] *Ibid*, p. 249.

	MEN-AT-ARMS.	HORSE ARCHERS.	FOOT ARCHERS.
Wauter Sandes, Knt	3		
John Saundish.			
† Sir Arnold Savage, Knt.			
Thomas Scarlet, Esq		3	
Richard Scroop	16		45
John Selby, Esq		2	
John Selby, and 2 more Esquires		6	
Henry Sharsbrock, Esq		2	
† Richard Shawe of London, Gent. in the retinue of Sir Gilbert Umfreville.[a]			
Robert Sheraud, Esq			2
Robert Sherard, Esq			2
† Robert Shervyle, Esq.			
† John Sheward, Esq.			
Rauf Shirley, Knt	6		18
† William Shore or Shorne, of Ware, Co. Herts, Valet of the King's Household, Harbinger.[b]			
Rauf Shotesbroke, Esq,	2		6
(†) John Skipton, Esq			2
John Skidmore, Knt.	4		12
† Taverner Sondeur, *alias* William Grantham.			
John Southworth, Knt	2		6
Gerard Sprong, Esq			4
† John St. Maure, Esq.			
† Sir Hugh Stafford, Knt.			
Hugh Standish, Knt.	3		9
(†) Rauf Staneley, [query Stavely] Knt.	4		12
Robert Staneley, Esq			2
(†) Hugh Stanley, Esq			3
Robert Stanley, Esq			2
(†) John Stanley, Esq.	8		24
(†) Thomas Staunton, Esq			3
John Steward, Esq	4		12
William Stokeley, Esq			2
† John Stokes, Esq. in the retinue of the Duke of Clarence.			
William Strange			3
† Augustine Stratton, Esq. in the retinue of the Earl of Suffolk.			
† John Strawe, Gent. in the retinue of Sir Gilbert Umfreville.			
(†) Thomas Strikeland	2		6
Thomas Strikland, Esq.[b]	2		6
John Sugerias			3

[a] *Fœdera*, vol. ix. p. 249.

[b] See a copy of his agreement with the King. *Fœdera*, vol. ix. p. 234.

	MEN-AT-ARMS.	HORSE ARCHERS.	FOOT ARCHERS.
John Swillington	4		11
† Simon Sy, Esq.			
† John Tailboys, Esq.			
William Talbot, Knt	4		
Richard Tempest, Knt	6		
Giles Thorneton, Esq		3	
John Tiptoft, Knt	30 {1 Knts. 27 Esqs}	60	30
William Tirwhyt, Esq.			3
(†) John Topclyffe,[a] Esq. in the King's retinue			2
Richard Tounley, Esq.			2
† John Tournour, *alias* Parroure, in the retinue of Sir William Legh, Knt.			
William Troutbeck, Esq. Chamberlain of Chester	50		650
(†) Roger Trumpyngton, Knt[b]	3		9
† Sir Thomas Trumpyngton, Knt.			
† William Trussell, Esq.			
(†) Thomas Tunstall, Knt[c]	6	18	
† Robert Twyford, Esq.[d]			
William Tyrwhyt, Esq			3
† John Tyrell.			
John Vale, Esq			2
Florys Van Askemade	5		15
Hertank Van Clux, Knt	3		9
William Van Jander, Knt	5		5
Gerard Ufflete, Knt.	20		60
(†) Gilbert Umfreville, Knt	20	90	
Robert de Umfreville, Esq.	20	40	
† John Upton, Esq.			
Robert Urcewyk, Sheriff of Lancast'.			500

[a] He obtained letters of protection from the King for one year, in consequence of his being engaged in his service. *Fœdera.* [b] *Ibid.*

[c] A copy of his agreement with the King, will be found at length in a former page.

[d] 25th May, 3 Hen. V. "Whereas Robert Twyford, Esq. was one of the retinue appointed to accompany the King, nevertheless His Majesty was pleased that he should remain in the company of Lord Grey, Warden of the East March of Scotland, for the reinforcement of the said Marches." *Cottonian MS.* Cleopatra F. iij.

	MEN-AT-ARMS	HORSE ARCHERS.	FOOT ARCHERS.
† George Walker, Esq.			
† William Warbleton, Esq.			
(†) Thomas Warde, Esq.			2
Thomas Waterton, Esq	8		24
William Weld, Esq.			2
(†) Adam Whityngham, Esq.			3
William Wightman, Esq			3
Thomas Wilcokes, Esq	2		6
† Walter Willoughby, Esq.			
† Thomas Willoughby of Boston, Co. Lincoln, Esq.			
† Sir Robert Willoughby, Knt.			
† William Winnington, Esq. in the retinue of William, Lord Botreaux.			
† William Wyngate of Sharpenho, Co. Bedford, Esq. in the retinue of the Duke of Clarence.[a]			
† Thomas Wypenden, Esq.			
† John Wyse, Esq.			
John Yedelish, Knt.	2		6
John Yedelish, Esq.	2		6
Henry Ynglish.			
Total	2536	4128	3771
Arblest[r]			98

[a] *Fœdera*, vol. ix. p. 249.

John Greyndon, Knt. with Mynors 120

Gerard Van Willighen,
Hayns Joye,
Walter Stotmaker,
Drovankesell Coykyn.
} M[r] Gunners, wth other 25

Each with 2 Servitours Gunn[rs] 50

Nicholas Brampton, Stuffer of Bacynets.

Albright Mailmaker with other.. } Armurers.....12

Leicester, Guyenne, Irlande. } King of Arms.

Hereford, Mareschal of Arms.

Valletz Peyntours 4

John Covyn, Sergeant of the Kinge's Tents and Pavilons, with other Yomen of the Pavilons..... } 28

Mr. Nich. Colnet, Phisitian,[a] wth 3 Archers.

Thomas Morestede,[b] and William Bradwardyn. .. } Surgeons { each with 9 more Surgeons } 20

John Waterton, Esq. Mast^r^ of the King's Horse. .... } with Groomes 60

John Othvin, Yoman, Surveyour of the Stable.

Nichol Harewode, Clerk of the Stable.

Ranulph Apulton, Clerk of the King's Avenrie.[a]

William Grene Gerneter William Medewey. .... } wth other yomen Purveyours.....12

Gerard de la Strade, Grome of the Horses.

Guy Midelton and John Melton .... } the King's Guides by night.

Richard Hodel, and Thomas Smith .... } with Yomen Smiths.....12

Richard Berre and other Sadlers, with Yomen Sadlers..... } 9

Clerk of the Marshalcy.

William Kynwolmersh, Cofferer of the King's Household.

Mr. William Smith, Esquire with Yomen.. 41

Thomas Harvy and other Servitours of the King. 8

Griffith Percival, with other Yomen of the King.....8

[a] See his agreement with the King, dated 29th April, 1415. *Fœdera*, vol. ix.

[b] See his agreement with the King, in which he is styled the King's Surgeon, to attend himself and to provide fifteen persons, of whom three were to be Archers, and the others "hommes de son mestier,"—dated 29th April, 1415. *Fœdera*, vol. ix. In p. 252 of the same volume, are two petitions from him, praying to be allowed money to provide necessaries for his office and a proper number of persons and carriages. The King granted him twelve persons and "1 chariot and deuz somers." 15th May, 1415.

[a] *Avenor*, an officer of the King, who provides oats for his stable.

Thomas Tunbrigge, with other..... } Yomen of the King's Household. 86

Robert Spore, with other.. } Yomen 13

William Heryot, with other.... { Pages Messeng^rs of the King's Cham^br.... ..... } 3

Norman Swynford with other..... } Yomen of the King's Poultry.....3

Nicholas Burcestre, with other ..... } Yomen of the Bakehouse.....8

William Balne, Clerk of the Kitchin.

Robert Allerton, and Richard Reston. } Under Clerks of the Kitchin, Pantry, and Buttery.

Jacob Meyndy, Clerk, Yoman of the office of Napery.

Wauter Burton, and John Langayle .. } Clerks of the Spicery.

William Pek, under Clerk of the Spicery.

John Hanham, Clerk of the Poultry.

William Sharpeton, Clerk of the Scullery.

John Canterbury, for the office of Scullery.

Thomas Westerdale, with Laborers and Bowgemen for the } Scullery. 15

John Desye, Clerk of the Bakehouse.

John Breton, Clerk of the Hall.

William Carpenter, with other } Carpenters of the Hall.....6

Thomas Fysh, with other } Labourers of the Hall.....19

John Waterton, and William Foster .... } Bowgemen.

John Feriby, Thomas Morton. } Clerks of the Wardrobe.

William Topnel, and others of the Wardrobe.

William Topnel, Mast^r Tayll^r, with 2 Archers.

George Benet, Mr Cordwaner, with other. } Cordwaners.....26

Tho. Matthew,[a] Wm Temple.... } Mr Carpenters with other Carpent^rs. 124

Robert Mitchell, with other Fletchers..... 6

[a] See the writ issued to him and William Gill, to provide 120 Carpenters and Turnours, tested 20 April, 1415. *Fœdera*, vol. ix.

Nich. Frost,[a] with other Bowyers. 6
John Flete, with other Whelerights. 6
John atte Herst, } Colliers.
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Estephin Payn, Almoigner.
Thomas Bridde, Sub Almoigner.
Mast[r] John de Bordin, Clerk, D[r] in Laws,
with 1 Clerk, and 2 Archers.
Rich. Hals, Clerk, with 1 Clerk and 2 Archers.
M[r] Esmon Lacy, Dean of the King's Chapel.

John Burnell, and } Chaplains of the King's Chapel.
John Mildenhale. }

M[r] Stephen Morpath, } Chaplains.. 13
with other..... }

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William Baldewyn.
John Michel.
Panel Trumper.
Peut Trumper.
Richard Pyper.
Thomas Haliday.
Wauter Haliday.
Meysham Pyper.
Broune Pyper.
Snayth Fydler.
William Langton.
Thomas Hardiberd.
William Halliday.

[a] *Fœdera*, to provide Bows and Arrows, &c.

[b] The place where the vestments and other articles for the service of the altar were kept.

[c] See *Fœdera*, vol. ix. p. 260, where they are stated to consist of xviij persons; they were assigned xij *d.* each per day. See also p. 255 of the same Work.

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Richard Wyttunn..... 334
Guy Wytyngton..... ib.
Henry Yevelton..... 361
Wauter Yonge..... 343
John Yonge..... 335
John Yorke..... 347

ADDENDA.

Since the Roll of the Knights, Men-at-Arms, and Esquires, who were at the Battle of Agincourt was printed, a copy has been discovered in the Ashmolean M.S. No. 825, folios 15—33 apparently in the hand writing of Robert Glover, who was Somerset Herald from 1571 to 1588. The following variations between the copy inserted in this volume, and the copy in the Ashmolean M.S. have been obligingly communicated by Mr. William Henry Black, by whose zealous assistance in many other parts of the work, the Author has materially benefited.

Besides a Latin title corresponding with that which is inserted in page 331, Glover prefixed to his copy this memorandum:

"Nomina eorum qui fuerunt cum rege Henrico quinto ad Bellum
"Agincourt anno regni sui tertio.

"AGINCOURT

"Notandum: quod in hoc libro Lanceorum nomina singulatim
"eo ordine quo in originali ponebantur, hic quoque ponuntur: cum
"tamen Sagittariorum nomina, omittuntur, at verus eorum numerus
"hic quoque scribitur."

It appears, therefore, that the Original Roll contained the names of the Archers as well as of the Men-at-Arms, but that the former were not deemed of sufficient importance to induce Glover to copy them, and that he contented himself with stating their numbers.

VARIATIONS.

Page.

331 "Thomas Malgrane" or "Malgrave," is altered to "Thomas *W*algrave."

337 Opposite the name of "Laurence Dutton," the word "*Lanc*'" occurs.

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337 "John Herny"—"John Hervy."

341 The word "*Lanc*'" is inserted opposite the name of "John Botreux."

ib. "Sir Gerard Ufflett,"—"Sir Gerard U*rs*flett."

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ib. After the name of "John Gegge" that of *Richard Gegge* is inserted, but which does not occur in either of the other manuscripts.

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"Le Retenu de Sr Stephan Spayne,
John Clifford ov sa Retenu,
Robert Heton S^{r}geant del Countynghows."

351 "Robert Hunto," is "Robert Hunte."

350 After "Lances lxij,"—"Archers soubs les avaunditz gentilhomes clxxxv."

353 To the word Archers (opposite the names of Monsr William Buteler, Monsr Richard Kyghley, &c.) is added the number "xvj."

355 It appears that the words, "The retenu of Sir Raulfe Shyrley," refer only to the three following names.

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ib. Instead of "Archers of the Erle of Lancaster, &c."—"Archers del Counte de Lancaster, qui furent assignez pour la Retenu de notre tres sovereigne S^{r} le Roy ccix.
Archers del Counte de Chester qui furent del Retenu de notre tres soveraigne S^{r} le Roy $\overset{xx}{\text{ciiij}}$."

ib. "William Herny"—"William Hervy."

359 For "Servants in fee with the King, that was under the goverment of the King"—"Varletts en fee du Roy qui furent soubz la governance de Nicholas Merbery xj."

ib. "Roger de Mylvehows"—"Roger de Myl*n*ehows."

360 "Monsr John Suert"—Monsr John S*m*ert."

361 "John a Thomas"—"John a*p* Thomas."

363 The following copy of the statement which occurs at the end of the Roll in the Ashmolean M.S. is evidently more correct than the transcript in the M.S. in the College of Arms:

"Faict a remembr' q' Robert Babthorp Ch'l'r Countrerollor del Hostell n're S^r^ le Roy ad liv' as Barons del Eschequer n're dit S^r^ le Roy p' commandement du Roy le xixme iour de November, l'an n're dit S^r^ le Roy quart cest Rolle contenant xviij prestes le darreyn prest endente ovesq' iceste bille le quele Rolle contienat parcell de lez nomz des gentz q' feurent ovesq' le Roy al bataille de Agencourt c'estassavoir le sec'de quart' de l'an de son regne tierce pur execution ent faire pur le p'fit n're dit S^r^ le Roy et la quele bille einsi prise du d'cte Rolle est liv' par les ditz Barons al avaunt-dit Monsr Robert."

Notice ought to have been taken in the body of the work of the tomb of Henry the Fifth in Westminster Abbey, because there is reason to believe that the Basinet, Shield and Saddle, which he used at the Battle of Agincourt, were placed near his Monument. The Basinet or Helmet, and Saddlle, still exist; but from their position it is impossible to examine, and very difficult even to see them. Of these interesting relics, which deserve much more attention than they have hitherto received, it is said:

"Between the towers (of the Chapel) extends a thick wooden bar, on the middle of which, in Sandford's time, was a shield, with the arms of France and England, quarterly: Crest on a chapeau ermine, a lion sejan crowned. In place of this shield is now an Helmet of the casque kind, which in two places has deep dents as if made by the strokes of a battle-axe, and is otherwise bruised: some faint traces of foliage are visible in the front plates, though greatly corroded by rust; and the lower rim is still ornamented with brass quatrefoils. It is highly probable that this very helmet was worn by Henry himself in the glorious battle of Agincourt; and which, as appears from our annals, was the means of twice preserving his life during that desperate contest.[a] 'His bruised helmet and his bended

[a] See pages 126, 127, antea.

sword,' though he would not suffer them to be borne before him, nor shewn to the people,[a] when he made his triumphal entry into London, are known to have been objects of much interest; and it can scarcely be doubted but that they were deposited here along with the other memorials of his warlike prowess which once adorned his chapel; but of which only the saddle and the shield are now remaining. The saddle which was originally covered with blue velvet, powdered with golden fleurs de lis, is nearly reduced to the bare wood and the first covering of buckram on the seat: it is twenty seven inches in length, fifteen inches high in front, and thirteen inches high behind. The shield which is small, had a green damask lining, with semee of fleur de lis, and across the middle worked on rich crimson velvet, an escarbuncle. Or, in reference to Joan de Navarre, Henry's Mother-in-law. Both the shield[b] and the saddle, are now fastened up against the large columes adjacent to the towers." Neale and Brayley's History of Westminster Abbey, Vol. II. page 92.

[a] See page 156, antea.

[b] Query, if the *shield* be still preserved?

APPENDIX.

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N° I.

TRANSLATION OF THE CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN HENRY THE FIFTH AND CHARLES THE SIXTH.

[*Histoire de Charles VI. Edit. par Mons. Laboureur*, tome ii. pp. 993, 994.]

"TO THE MOST SERENE PRINCE, CHARLES, BY THE GRACE OF GOD OUR VERY DEAR COUSIN OF FRANCE, HENRY, BY THE SAME GRACE KING OF ENGLAND AND OF FRANCE, HEALTH AND PEACE TO BE OBSERVED IN OUR DAYS.

"Most Serene Prince and very dear Cousin, Our glory is the testimony of our conscience [a] that we have endeavoured from our accession to our crown, from the ardent passion that we have had for the love of him who is the author of peace, to reconcile the differences between us and our people; to chase and banish for ever that sad division, mother of so many misfortunes, cause of the misery of so many men, and of the loss of so many souls which have been shipwrecked in the slaughter of war. We have sent to you many times, and again very lately we dispatched with that happy object our ambassadors, who have declared on our part to your Serenity, that our intention is to propose to you two things; the first is, to do justice to us of the rights to us, and to our crown belonging for so long a time, that we could say that it is entire ages that we have been deprived of them. The other concerns our marriage with our dear cousin Katherine, your daughter, for which all that is wanting is her consent and yours. The said ambassadors, after the requisite declarations in an affair of this importance, have made divers propositions to you; and, to bring the affair to a conclusion, they have given up certain points, which we assure you, and to which Heaven is our witness, that we would not by any means have listened, if the service of God, and the advantage of peace were not dearer, and of more consideration, than our private interest. It is true that the Lords of our Kingdom of England, without whose advice we do not determine upon important affairs, favour under hand our intentions in this matter, but in fact, there s not one among them who is satisfied with so little.

"We have seen by a writing sealed with your seal, the answer which you have given to these demands, and our ambassadors having moreover assured us, we know thereby that you have grantep nothing

[a] "Nostre gloire est le témoignage de nostre conscience."

because they had not full power to treat, beyond the two principal objects of their mission. But as your Serenity informed us, that you would dispatch a solemn embassy to treat with us[a] upon these two points, and of the circumstances attendant thereon, we were surprised that the term is expired without our having any news of their voyage, or even of the names of those whom you destine for that negociation. The time of the truce being nearly at an end, we shall truly be compelled by the good will which it is our duty to maintain, and for the welfare of our people, to attend to their interests, and to acquit ourselves of the oath by which we are bound. It is then for your Serenity to endeavour seriously to complete the treaty which is begun; and we pray you with that object speedily to send your deputies so that we do not uselessly lose the time necessary for so great a benefit, upon which depends the happiness and general felicity of the two crowns. We assure you for our own part, that we desire nothing with more zeal, than that peace; to which we shall contribute so warmly, that we protest before God and all men, that we prefer on this occasion the public advantage, to that by which we are personally affected, and also that our heart is so opposed to the cruelties of war, and has so much horror of the effusion of Christian blood, that it only depends upon you that we establish a good and perpetual peace between the two kingdoms, and between us and our successors, to the honor and praise of Him who has chosen us for the government of two such great states, and to whom we shall have to render an account of their conduct, that we increase their prosperity by peace; and above all, God forbid that they should ever be disunited. Do not let us be the imitators of the shepherds of Lot and Abraham, between whom avarice excited discord. Render us a compensation proportionate to the loss which we suffer, and do not allow either of us to be borne away by the passion of dominion, or by the evil counsels of minds enemies to peace. We shall have to answer before God for that which we retain by force of the property of another, and more particularly for the prevention of this peace. The thoughts and means which he has given us, are marks of a grace which we ought not to abuse, and if we neglect to render ourselves worthy we shall become amenable to his justice for having resisted the inspirations with which he has endued us, for the purpose of establishing the tranquillity of the people under our government.

"Given under our Signet, at our Palace of Westminster, the 7th of the month of April." [1415.]

[a] "Mais comme vostre Serenite nous mande qu'elle nous doit sur ce despecher a convenir," &c. The word *nous* is evidently misprinted in one place for *vous:* in the translation the sense of the passage is inferred from the context.

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"Most Serene Prince, our very dear Cousin. We have seen letters from the very illustrious prince, your very dear uncle, the Duke of Berry, by which we have perceived, that you intend soon to dispatch to us a solemn embassy on your part for the benefit of peace, of which we pray God to give us a happy conclusion for his glory. We have also seen the copy of the safe conduct which you desired for the ambassadors, with their names specified, and the term for which you wish the prolongation of the passports, and we are sufficiently content with the number of persons.[a] As for the period, we have shortened it, not believing that so many days were required; but if on their arrival they bring us good news, if they proceed frankly, and if we find their intention right, and their powers sufficiently ample upon the two principle points of justice which we have asked from you, and of the alliance which we have proposed, we will extend it as far as shall be necessary. This abridgement of useless days, should not make your Serenity believe that we are therefore the less disposed to the conclusion of peace: so far from that being our intention, we have done it to prevent delay, (enemy of such affair) retarding it, and from cooling our desires for so great a benefit. We passionately wish it, but if it cannot be attained, we should be sorry to have uselessly consumed time which would assist the prosecution of our right. We appeal to the tribunal of divine justice, where we shall both have to appear to render a most exact account of our conduct on the subject of this pacific overture, that the blindness of avarice, glory, vanity, the pretext of wordly honors, or the vain desire to reign can in nothing divert us from our good intentions.

"We shall propose nothing to you, which we have not a right conscienciously to demand; and we advise you, most Serene Prince, with all sincerity and from pure love, to entertain those happy thoughts of peace which you have always observed from your most tender youth, and not to neglect or abandon them in so mature and

[a] Henry signed these passports on the 13th of April, 1415, which extended until the 8th of June following. The embassy consisted of the Archbishop of Bourges, the Counts of Vendôsme and Tankerville, the Bishop of Lisieux, and eight other eminent individuals, with a retinue of five hundred and forty-two persons. *Fœdera*, vol. ix. p. 220.

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so advanced an age.[a] Reflect upon the years which you have passed; think of eternity, in which they must terminate, and bear in memory the noble actions and the triumphs which ancient ages have seen arise from the union of the kingdoms of England and France, as also the massacre and slaughter which their divisions have caused, and how much they have shed of Christian blood, which produced so many wounds to JESUS CHRIST for its redemption. If the prophet of prophets, the great Jeremiah, was now alive, what tears would he shed for the torrents of blood which have inundated so many plains, after having so wept over the miserable condition of a single city! and what would he not say of the misfortune of so cruel an hostility between two crowns! It is this which obliges me to choose a favourable time, it is this which constrains me to knock with importunity at the door of your conscience to invite you to peace. It is a long time that I have knocked, and that you have deferred opening it to me; and in the mean time the quarrel increases, and those who support schism in the church, and foment the crimes of this world, form pernicious designs of invasion. The Pope even has made a divorce from the universal church, he whom they hoped would redeem it, and re-establish Israel; and so many years of possession have rather induced them to resist the union than to submit to it. This Holy Sion, formerly without rust and without spot, has lost all hope of regaining her ancient liberty, if the Princes do not join together to deliver her from the yoke of her bondage. Let us not therefore obstinately persist in encroaching one upon another, nor allow ourselves to be prompted by imaginary pretexes of honor to debate upon titles and pretensions, so much more condemnable in their vanity, because they serve as obstacles to the most praiseworthy designs. Rather let us, for the glory of God, undertake to assist our desolate mother, who has regenerated us in the light; let us render truth triumphant over force and violence; let us govern and judge according to our conscience, and do for the Church that which she would do for us, if she were free from her oppression.

"Given under our signet in our Palace of Westminster, the 15th of the month of April."

[a] This expression is a singular one, for at that time Charles the Sixth was but a few months more than forty-six years old, he having been born on the 3rd of December, 1368—a period of life which does not justify so serious an admonition respecting eternity. Lydgate also speaks of the French monarch being then "so old."

[*Ibid.* p. 1000.]

"TO THE MOST SERENE PRINCE CHARLES, OUR COUSIN AND ADVERSARY OF FRANCE, HENRY BY THE GRACE OF GOD, KING OF ENGLAND AND OF FRANCE, DESIRE THE SPIRIT OF A BETTER COUNSEL, AND TO RENDER TO EACH THAT WHICH BELONGS TO HIM.

"Most Serene Prince, Our Cousin and Adversary, The two great and noble kingdoms of England and France, formerly brothers, but now divided, have been accustomed to enlighten all the world by their triumphs. They combined but for the generous object of enriching and adorning the house of God, to place peace in all her boundaries, to make it flourish within its whole extent, and to join their arms against her adversaries, as against the public enemies. They never encountered them that they did not happily subdue them; but, alas! this faithful union is vanished: we are fallen into the unhappy disposition of Lot and Abraham: the honor of his fraternal friendship is buried: her death and sepulture have revived dissention, that old enemy of human nature, which may justly be called the mother of Hatred and of War. The Sovereign judge of Sovereigns will one day be our witness of the sincere inclination with which we have sought peace, and how we have on our part employed prayers and promises to persuade you to it, even by giving up the possession of a State which belongs to us by hereditary right, and which nature would oblige us to preserve for our posterity. We are not so destitute of sense and courage, but that we are resolved at last to fight with all our strength, even to death; but as the law of Deuteronomy commands, that whoever appears in arms before a town, should offer it peace before it is besieged, we have, even up to the present time, done all which our rank allows peaceably to recover the possession of that which belongs to us by legitimate succession, and to reunite to our crown that which you wrongfully and by violence possess; so that from your refusing justice, we may justly have recourse to the force of arms. Our honor, nevertheless, and our conscience, oblige us once more in going against you, to demand the reason of your refusal, to exhort you in the name of the merciful bowels of Jesus Christ, to do us justice; and to evince towards you the last trait of evangelical perfection, we say to you that which it teaches, *Friend render me that which you owe me—Amice redde quod debes, et fiat nobis ipsius Dei summi natu.* To avoid a deluge of human blood, restore to us our inheritance which you unjustly detain, or render us at least that which we have so many times demanded by our ambassa-

dors. Only the love and fear of God, and the advantage of peace, have made us contented with so little, and we were willing on that account to remit fifty thousand crowns of the sum which we have been offered in marriage, to shew that we are more inclined to peace than to avarice; that we prefer the right which our father has left us to those to which we have legitimate pretensions by representation of our forefathers; and that we are more disposed to lead an innocent life with your fair and noble daughter Katherine, our very dear cousin, than to enrich ourselves with the treasures of iniquity, to adore the idol of riches, or to add to our dominions that which God forbids, to the injury of our conscience.

"Given under our privy seal, in our town of Southampton, upon the sea coast, the 28th of July."[a]

[*Histoire de Charles VI. par Jean Juvenal des Ursins, Archeveque de Rheims*, p, 291.]

"TO THE MOST HIGH PRINCE, HENRY, OUR COUSIN AND ADVERSARY OF ENGLAND, CHARLES, BY THE GRACE OF GOD, KING OF FRANCE: DESIRE TO HAVE NO WISH TO OPPRESS, NOR TO ATTEMPT AGAINST REASON!

"The blessing of peace, beloved of God and nature, to which after the example of our Lord Jesus Christ, which he left to his disciples, and gave to us as a legacy, we have always sought and desired by every means in our power, and which for the honor of God, we desire most earnestly to procure, for the advantages which attend it, and to avoid the effusion of human blood, and the innumerable evils produced by war. As this we believe is clear and manifest to you, your council, and others, you have occasioned us great surprise, and not without cause, after such great overtures and other points discussed between your people and ours, with a firm intention of establishing peace, by having hostilely invaded our kingdom with an armed force, and thus destroying the hopes of peace, to the great sin of your party. And as we never did refuse justice, nor shall we, if it please God, to all who may demand it of us; as it is lawful for every Prince in his just quarrel to defend himself, and to oppose force by force; and as none of your predecessors ever had any right, and you still less,

[a] *Hall* and *Monstrelet* assert, that Henry forwarded this letter by Antelope, his Pursuivant of Arms; whilst *Laboureur* states, that it was sent by Dorset, the King's chief Herald.

to make the demands contained in certain of your letters, presented to us by Chester your Herald, nor to give us any trouble, it is our intention with the assistance of the Lord, in whom we have singular trust, and especially from the justice of our cause, and also with the aid of our good relations, friends, allies, and subjects, to resist you in a way which shall be to the honor and glory of us and of our kingdom, and to the confusion, loss, and dishonor of you and your party.

"Respecting the marriage of which you write at the end of your letters, it does not appear that the means which you have adopted to make a request or demand, and especially of affinity or marriage, is proper, honorable, or usual in such a case; and therefore we will not write you upon any other matter at present, but send you this letter in answer to those which you wrote to us by the said Chester.

"Given at Paris, the 24th day of August, the year 1415."

N° II.

TRANSLATION OF TWO INDENTURES OF AGREEMENT TO SERVE IN THE EXPEDITION AGAINST FRANCE.

[*Translated from the French, Fœdera,* vol. ix. p. 233.]

INDENTURE OF THOMAS TUNSTALL.

"This Indenture, made between the King our Sovereign Lord of the one part, and Monsieur Thomas Tunstall of the other part; Witnesseth, that the said Thomas is bound to our said Lord the King, to serve him for a whole year in a voyage which the same our Lord the King in his own person will make, if it pleaseth God, in his Dutchy of Guienne, or in his kingdom of France: commencing the said year, on the day of the muster of the people of his retinue, at the place which shall be appointed by our said Lord the King, within the month of May next coming, if he shall be then ready to make the said muster.

"And that the said Thomas shall have with him, in the said voyage, for the whole year, six men at arms, himself counted, and eighteen horse archers; the said Thomas taking for wages for himself two shillings a day. And if in the company of our said Lord the King, the said Thomas shall go to the said Dutchy of Guienne, he shall take for the wages of each of the said men at arms forty marks, and for each of the said archers twenty marks, for the said whole year. And in case that the aforesaid Thomas goes to the aforesaid kingdom of France, in company with our Lord the King, he shall take for the wages of each of the said men at arms twelve-pence, and for each of the said archers six-pence, a day, during the year above said.

"And in case of the said voyage to France, the said Thomas shall take reward usual for him and his said men at arms, that is to say, wages, at the rate of one hundred marks for thirty men at arms the quarter. Of the which wages for the said parts of Guienne, half the first quarter shall be paid to the said Thomas at the making of this Indenture; and the other half when he shall have made the said muster ready to go to the said parts of Guienne, if our said Lord the King shall go there, or shall send him there. And in case it happens that after the said muster, our said Lord the King shall not go to his said Dutchy of Guienne, but shall go to the parts of France, then the said Thomas shall be paid so much as shall be owing to him for the said first quarter, besides the sum received by him as above, for the

wages and reward, as well for himself as for the men at arms and archers above said, so passing to the said parts of France.

"And for surety of payment for the second quarter, our said Lord the King will cause to be delivered to the said Thomas, in pledge, on the first day of June next coming, Jewels, which by agreement with the said Thomas, shall be fully worth the sum to which the said wages, or wages with reward, for that quarter shall amount. The which jewels the said Thomas shall be bound to return to our said Lord the King, the hour that he can redeem them[a] within a year and half and one month next after the receipt of the same jewels.

"And also that it shall be lawful for the said Thomas and for all others whatsoever, to whom the said jewels shall be delivered by the said Thomas, after the end of the said month, to dispose of the said jewels at their pleasure, without impeachment of the King or of his heirs, according to the contents of the Letters Patent, under the Great Seal of the King, granted to the aforesaid Thomas in this case. And for the third quarter, the said Thomas shall be paid for him and his said retinue, within six weeks after the commencement of the same third quarter, according to the quantity of wages, or wages with reward, for the country to which they may have gone, or shall be, during the said quarter.

"And respecting the payment of the wages, or wages with reward, as the case may be, for the last quarter of the year above said, if for the moiety of the said third quarter, the King, our said Lord, shall not give such security for the payment to the said Thomas as he shall reasonably demand, then, at the expiration of the third quarter, the said Thomas shall be acquitted and discharged towards our said Lord the King of the covenants specified in this present Indenture. And the said Thomas shall be bound to be ready at the sea, with his said people well mounted, armed, and equipped, suitably to their condition, for his muster on the first day of July next coming: and from the time of their arrival at the place above said, the said Thomas is bound to muster the people of his retinue before such person or persons as it may please our said Lord the King to assign, as often as he shall reasonably require.

"And the said Thomas shall have as usual at the charge of our said Lord, shipping for him and his retinue, their horses, harness, and provisions, and also re-shipping, as others of his condition in the said voyage. And if it shall happen, that our said Lord the King shall countermand the said Thomas before his passage of the sea, he shall be bound for the said sum to serve the same our Lord the King, in such parts as shall please him with the aforesaid men at

[a] "A quelle heure qu'il les vuilles quitter."

arms and archers, according to the rate of wages accustomed in the parts where they shall be ordered by our said Lord the King, except those that may die, if any shall die, in the mean time.

"And if it shall happen that the Adversary of France, or any of his sons, nephews, uncles, or cousin-germans, or any King of any kingdom, or his Lieutenant, or other chieftains having command from the said Adversary of France, shall be taken in the said voyage by the said Thomas, or any of his said retinue, our said Lord the King shall have the said Adversary, or other person of the rank above said, who may be so taken, and shall make reasonable agreement with the said Thomas, or to those by whom he may be taken. And respecting other profits of "Gaignes de Guerre,"[a] our said Lord the King shall have as well the third part of the "gaignes" of the said Thomas, as the third of the third part of the "gaignes" of the people of his retinue in the said voyage taken, as the "gaignes" of the prisoners, booty, money, and all gold, silver and jewels, exceeding the value of ten marks.

"In Witness of which things on the part of this Indenture relating to our said Lord the King, the aforesaid Thomas has put his Seal. Given at Westminster, the xxix day of April, the year of the reign of our said Lord the King, the third." [b]

INDENTURE BETWEEN THE EARL OF SALISBURY, AND WILLIAM BEDYK, ONE OF HIS RETINUE.

[*Translated from the French; Fœdera*, vol. ix. p. 258.]

"This Indenture made at London, the first day of June, in the third year of the reign of King Henry the Fifth, after the Conquest, between Thomas, Earl of Salisbury, on the one part, and William Bedyk, of the other part: Witnesseth, that the said William is bound to the said Earl, to serve him for a whole year in a voyage, which our Lord the King proposes to make in his own person if it pleases God. And that the said William, in the said voyage, shall have from the said Earl, for the said whole year for himself, for the parts of Guienne, forty marks; and for two archers with him, that

[a] This expression scarcely admits of a translation. It means the advantages which might arise from the chances of war, whether from pillage, ransom, or in any other manner.

[b] Similar agreements were made with Gilbert Umfrevill, Robert Stanley, Thomas Strickland, and many other persons.

is to say, for each archer yearly twenty marks, according to the time that the said William and his said archers shall be in the service of the said Earl, in the parts aforesaid.

"And if it should happen that our Lord the King shall go to his realm of France, then the said William shall receive from the said Earl for himself twelve pence a day, and for each of the said archers six pence a day. And the said William shall be paid at the execution of this Indenture, for half the first quarter in hand; and for the three other quarters, the said William shall be paid by the said Earl for himself and his said archers from quarter to quarter, in the same manner as our said Lord the King does to the said Earl for people of his condition.

"And it is agreed that the said William shall be ready at the sea with his said archers well mounted, armed, and equipped, suitably to their condition, to make there his muster on the first day of July next coming. And that the said William shall have "Bouche de Courte,"[a] for him and one Valette, on both sides the sea at all times. And if the said William, or any of his [retinue] take any prisoner by fortune of war, the said Earl shall have the third part of his ransom; and also of all other "gaignes" whatever, which may arise in the war, during the time above said, placing the said prisoner at such ransom as the said Earl, William, and prisoner may agree. And that the said William shall keep watch and ward at all times, that he shall be required by the said Earl or his Lieutenant. And the said Earl shall provide proper shipping for him, his archers, and horses, going and returning.

"And in case that our said Lord the King does not go into any of the parts aforesaid, but that the said Earl be countermanded by our Lord the King, or that the King return within the said time, or if the said William die after such commands be received within the said time, so that the said William cannot perform the covenants aforesaid, that then the said William be obliged, his heirs, executors, and assigns, and each of them by these [presents] to repay to the said

[a] *Bouche of Court*, vulgarly *Budge of Court*, according to Blount, is to have meat and drink scot free; for so he says is the French *Avoir Bouche a la Cour*, to be in ordinary at Court. Sometimes it extended only to bread, beer and wine. This was anciently in use, as well in the houses of noblemen, as in the King's Court, as appears by an Indenture, which he cites, dated 29 March, 6 Ric. II. 1383. Bishop Kennett explains *Bouche of Court*, to be an allowance of diet or provisions from the King, or superior Lord to their Knights, Esquires, and other retinue that attended them in any military expedition. Thomas, Earl of Lancaster, retained Sir John de Evre, to serve him with ten men at arms in time of war, allowing them *Bowge of Court*, with livery of hay and oats for their horses.

Earl, his heirs, executors, or assigns, immediately, the aforesaid gold and silver so received without delay. Provided always that the said William have allowance for his wages, for him and his said archers for the time that he is in the said service of the said Earl. In witness of which things on the part of this Indenture that relate to the said William, the said Earl has placed his Seal. And on the other part relating to the said Earl, the said William has put his Seal."

Indorsed, "The said William had received, according to the wages of Guienne for half a quarter £vj. xiij*s*. iiij*d*."

N° III.

CONTRACTS FOR LOANS FOR THE EXPEDITION, AND NOTICES OF JEWELS, PLATE, &c. PLEDGED AS SECURITY FOR SOLDIERS' WAGES.

To the Abbot of Westminster, as security for money lent for the expedition, the Crown of the late King Richard.—It was redeemed by Henry the Sixth.[a]

On the 14th of July, 1415, one great Circle of gold, garnished with fifty-six balays,[b] forty sapphires, eight diamonds, and seven great pearls, weighing 4lb, and of the value of £800—was pawned for 1000 marks, which were lent by the following persons of the county of Norfolk:

By the Mayor, Sheriffs, and Commonalty of Norwich. 500 marks.
By the Mayor and Commonalty of Lenne..... 400
By Master William Westacre..... 40£
By William Walton..... 20£
By Nicholas Scounfet..... 10 marks.

At the expiration of a year and a half, if the Circle was not redeemed, it was lawful for the creditors to dispose of it.—The Circle was redeemed in the 7th of Henry the Sixth.[c] The Circle and the *Tunica Inconsutulis*, hereafter mentioned, were given to the Abbot of Westminster, in exchange for King Richard's Crown.[a]

To Thomas Peverel, Bishop of Worcester, Richard Crosby, Prior of Coventry, and to the Mayor and Commonalty of that city, and William Waltham, a large gold Collar of Ilkington, which was the King's jewel when Prince of Wales, garnished with four rubies, four great sapphires, thirty-two great, and fifty three lesser pearls, weighing 36 ¾ oz., and of the value of £300, was pawned for £500—Redeemed in the 6th of Henry the Sixth.[a]

To John Chittern and Walter Cook, Clerks, one pair of basons of gold, chased in the fashion of roses, pounced with large bosselets,[d]

[a] *Sloane* MS. 4600. [b] Rubies of a peach colour.
[c] *Fœdera*, vol. ix. p. 286.—*Sloane* MS. 4600, f. 503.
[d] Bowls were frequently oramented with *bosses*. Sir Thomas Lyttelton, in 1481, bequeathed "a boll of silver embossed with round bosses." *Testamenta Vetusta*, p. 365. Bosselets were probably studs.

garnished with sundry scutcheons. In the middle of the basons were the arms of Saint George, and around, the arms of Saint Edward and Saint Edmund,[a] the arms of the Emperor,[b] the arms of England and France departed,[c] the arms of the Principality of Wales, and of the Duchy of Guienne, weighing together 28 lb 8 oz., price the ounce, 26*s.* 8*d.*, and of the value of £458. 13*s.* 4*d.* Redeemed in the 7th of Henry the Sixth.[d]

To John Heend, Alderman of London, one Palet, called THE PALET OF SPAIN, garnished with thirty-five balays and bastard rubies, four sapphires, fifteen large, and three-hundred small emeralds, and three hundred little pearls; weighing 8 lb 6 oz., and valued at £200. This with other jewels were pawned for 500 marks.—Redeemed in the 4th of Henry the Sixth.[d]

A large Tabernacle of silver gilt, garnished with gold, which belonged to the Duke of Burgundy, garnished with twenty balays, twenty-two sapphires, and one hundred and thirty-seven pearls, was pawned to the following persons:

To the Dean and Chapter of the Cathedral of Exeter for 100 marks.

Mayor and Commonalty of Exeter	100
John, Abbot of Tavistock	100
John, Prior of Plympton	100
John, Prior of Launceston	100
William, Abbot of Buckfast	100
Robert Cary, Esq[r]	100
Alex[r] Champernoune, Esq[r]	60
John Bevyle, Esq[r]	60
John Copleton, Esq[r]	10
Mayor and Commonalty of Plymouth	30[e]

[a] The arms of St. George, St. Edward the Confessor, and St. Edmund, King and Martyr, were frequently borne with those of the King. Richard the Second impaled his arms with those of St. Edward; and in the reign of Edward the First, we have proof that they were used on banners in the field, for in a contemporary Poem describing the Siege of Carlaverock in June, 1300, it is said:

"Peu fist le roy porter amont
Sa baniere et la Seint Eymont
La Saint George e la Saint Edwart."

[b] From the arms of the Emperor being on these basons it is most likely that they had belonged to King Richard the Second, whose first wife was Anne, daughter of the Emperor Charles IV.

[c] *i. e.* Quarterly. [d] *Sloane* MS. 4600. [e] *Fœdera*, vol. ix. pp. 285-6.

To the Mayor and City of London, 1st August, 1415, as security for the payment of 10,000 marks sterling, which they had lent to the King of their free will, at his earnest request, which sum was to be paid at Christmas, 1416, out of the receipt of the duties arising from all wool and tanned hides exported from London, after the feast of the Nativity of St. John the Baptist next ensuing, until the whole sum was repaid, a Collar called "Pusan d' Or," worked with antelopes[a] set with certain precious stones, in a leather cover, sealed with the seal of the arms of the Reverend Father in God, Richard, Bishop of Norwich, which was put in pledge to the said Mayor and Commonalty.[b]

JEWELS AND PLATE PAWNED FOR WAGES, IN THE EXPEDITION TO FRANCE.

To Thomas, Duke of Clarence, 12th of July, 1415, as security for what might be due to him and his retinue according to certain indentures, the Crown Henry. It was to be redeemed by the feast of the Circumcision, in 1416, and if not the Duke might dispose of it; but if redeemed, it was to be restored by him whole and without damage or injury.[c]

The Crown is said to have been broken into pieces, and the materials distributed as follows,[d] by the Duke as security for the wages he had engaged to pay his retinue.

To Sir John Colvyl, a large fleur-de-lys, garnished with one great balays, and one other balays, one ruby, three great sapphires, and ten great pearls.—Redeemed in the 8th of Henry the Sixth.

To John Pudsey, Esq. a pinnacle of the said crown, garnished with two sapphires, one square balays, and six pearls.

To Maurice Brune, a pinnacle of the said crown, garnished as the former, weighing 1½ oz. 1d.—Redeemed in the 9th of Henry the Sixth.

[a] This Collar, perhaps, belonged to King Richard the Second, whose device was an antelope. *Willement's Regal Heraldry*, p. 21, on the authority of the *Harleian MS.* 2259. It was of gold manufactured at Pisa. This explanation occurs in a document of Henry the Fifth, in the *Fœdera*, vol. ix. p. 405. "Quoddam magnum colerum vocatum *Pusan* de operationibus coronarum et bestiarum et de albo inamelatum bestiis illis super berragio viride positas." The word was variously written Puseu, Pysane, Pizaine, Pissand, Pesane, and Pesens.

[b] *Fœdera*, vol. ix. p. 299.

[c] *Ibid.* p. 284.

[d] *Sloane* MS. 4600, f. 504.

To John Saundish, another of the pinnacles garnished as the others.—Redeemed in the 9th of Henry the Sixth.

The following persons also received plate or jewels as security for their wages:[a]

To Edward, Duke of York,[b] an Almes Dish of gold, called The Tigre, made like a ship, standing on a bear, garnished with nineteen balays, twelve great and fourteen other pearls, weighing 22 lb. 1½ oz. at 26*s*. 8*d*., the ounce, and valued altogether at £332.—Redeemed in the 9th of Henry the Sixth.

To Thomas Montacute, Earl of Salisbury, a large ship of silver over gilt, with twelve men-at-arms, fighting, on the deck, and at each end of the ship a castle; weighing 65 lb. 3 oz., at 48*s*. the lb. and 4*s*. the oz. Also two Candlesticks of gold, each weighing 14 lb. 7¼ oz., price the ounce, 26*s*. 8*d*. and several other vessels of plate and jewels.—Redeemed in the 9th of Henry the Sixth.

To Sir Robert Chalons, Knt. as security for his second quarter's pay, amounting to £45. 6*s*. 9¼*d*.; a Cup of gold, two Pots of silver-gilt, and a small vessel of silver-gilt. At Southampton, on the 24th of July, 1415.[c]

To Sir Ralph Shirley, who by indenture dated at Winchester, on the 6th July, 1415, agreed to serve a whole year with six lances, himself reckoned for one, and eighteen archers, as security for £86. 2*s*. 8*d*. to be paid at Candlemas, 1416, a Paxbrede of gold, enamelled white, and a Crucifix, with an image of the blessed Mary, and St. John the Evangelist;[d] weighing 5 oz., at 26*s*. 8*d*. the oz., and worth altogether £6. 6*s*. 8*d*. Also a little gold Tablet in the shape of a mirror, garnished with three balays, and nine pearls hanging on a gold chain, one part enamelled with the Salutation of our Lady; on the other a looking-glass, weighing 6½ ounces, aud valued at £12. A Cross of gold, garnished with four balays, six sapphires, and fourteen pearls, weighing 2½ oz. 20d. at 48*s*. the ounce, value £5. A large Hawk's bowl of gold, with two vertoills, and one warrok of gold, and thirty other bowls, all of one sort, weighing 12 oz., 20 *d*. at 26*s*. 8*d*. the ounce, weighing in all 16 lb. 20[d].[a]

[a] *Sloane MS.* 4600, f. 507.

[b] To defray the heavy expence which this Prince incurred in consequence of the expedition, and in founding the college of Fotheringay, he obtained the King's license, dated at Southampton on the 5th of August, 1415, to alienate several manors. *Fœdera*, vol. ix. p. 301.

[c] *Fœdera*, vol. ix. p. 288.

[d] A similar article is bequeathed by the will of George, Earl of Huntingdon, in 1534, to the church of Ashby-de-la-Zouche. "Item, my best

To John Irby, one Tablet of gold, garnished with four balays, eleven large pearls, and one large sapphire of the image of Christ, for the wages of one lance, and two archers.—Redeemed the 26th of Nov. 1415.[a]

To Sir Thomas Chaworth, Sir William Harington, Sir John Skydmore, Sir Walter Beauchamp, Sir Rowland Lental, Sir William Talbot, and Sir Walter Hungerford, pawned for their wages to each, several vessels of plate and jewels, tablets, images, crucifixes, notre-dames, tabernacles, &c.—Redeemed by Henry the Sixth.[b]

To Sir Thomas Dutton, a Tablet of gold, with the Trinity on the top, and beneath, at their feet, the Virgin Mary; on the foot of the Table were the three kings of Cologne. It was garnished with twenty-seven large pearls, seven of them worth five marks each, and the other twenty worth 30*d*. each;[c] weighing 5 lb. 1 oz.—Redeemed the 4th of Henry the Sixth.[d]

To Sir Thomas Hauley, as security for £12. 8*s*. ob. wages, a pair of gold Spurs, with red tyssers, weighing 7½ ounces, at 26*s*. 8*d*. an ounce. A Ewer over gilt with gold, garnished with coral, weighing 29 ounces, at 20*d*. an ounce. A Sword garnished with Ostrich's feathers, which was the King's sword when Prince of Wales, valued at £22.—Redeemed in the 9th of Henry the Sixth, the executors of Sir Thomas remitting £2. 8*s*. ob.[a]

To Sir John Radclyff, a Tablet of gold, with a piece of the *Tunica Inconsutilis*,[e] garnished with six balays, six sapphires, twelve great, and twelve other pearls, weighing 2 lb. 5 oz., valued at £47. It was pawned as security for £81. 26*s*. 7*d*. ob., and was redeemed in the 7th of Henry the Sixth.

This and the great circle of gold before mentioned, were, in the 8th of Henry the Sixth, given to the Abbot of Westminster, in exchange for King Richard's crown.[a]

To Sir William Porter, a Cup of gold, weighing 31½ ounces, at 26*s*. 8*d*. an ounce—Redeemed in the 8th of Henry the Sixth.[a]

Pax of silver and gilt, with a Crucifix, whereon are Mary and John." *Testamenta Vetusta*, p. 660. [a] *Sloane* MS. 4600, f. 507. [b] *Ibid.*

[c] *Knighton*, p. 2740, states, that this jewel was given to Richard the Second, by the city of London, in 1392, and was then valued at £800.

[d] *Sloane* MS. 4600, f. 508. [e] *Sic*.

To John Attilbrigg, Usher of the Black Rod, one Tipsere of purple velvet, garnished with gold. A large Ring of gold, on which was written, En un sans plus. One pair of Paternosters of pure gold, containing twelve knops.—These were redeemed from his executors on the 31st of October, 1415.[a]

To an Esquire called Brut, and an Esquire called William Bramespath, a Cross enamelled with green; on the top there were thirty-three pearls, and the foot was of gold, with a Cup.—Redeemed in the 13th of Henry the Sixth.[b]

To John Pilkington and William Bradshaw, a little Tablet of gold, garnished with the arms of England and France, and a gold chain wrought with letters, crowns, &c.—Redeemed in the 10th of Henry the Sixth.[b]

To John Phelip, Thomas Corbet, John Ask, and John Chenduyt, Esquires, each, several cups, plates, and jewels, which were redeemed by Henry the Sixth.[a]

To John Durwarde, a Tabernacle of gold, within which were an image of our Lady sitting on a green terrage, with the figures of Adam and Eve, and four angels at the four corners. On the Tabernacle was a crucifix of gold and a church, and it was garnished with three rubies, three diamonds, four balays, three sapphires, seventy-seven great pearls, and forty little pearls, and weighed 42 ounces worth £60.—Redeemed in the 4th of Henry the Sixth.[a]

To John Clyff, one of the King's Minstrels, as a security by indenture, for his wages, a Reading Desk of silver, over gilt, the foot of it like a tabernacle, standing on four feet. Two Ewers of silver gilt, one enamelled with the arms of England and France, the other with hearts. A Table with sundry relics therein, standing on two lions; weighing together, 26 lb. 6 oz., and valued at 40*s*. the lb. One large Bowl, three Candlesticks with three pikes,[c] a large Silver Spoon, a Skummer, and other plate; weighing together 19 lb., value 30*s*. the lb.—Redeemed from his Executors, in the 12th of Henry the Sixth.

[a] *Sloane* MSS. 4600, f. 509. [b] *Ibid.* f. 510.

[c] Those which, instead of having nozles, were furnished with spikes, on which the candles were stuck. The fashion still remains for altar candlesticks in the chapels at Oxford.

N° IV.

CONFESSION OF RICHARD, EARL OF CAMBRIDGE, AND HIS SUPPLICATION FOR MERCY.

[Referred to in p. 44—From the Original in the Cottonian MS. *Vespasianus*, C. xiv. f. 89.]

CONFESSION OF RICHARD, EARL OF CAMBRIDGE.

"My most dredfulle and sovereyne lege Lord. Lyke to zowre hynesse to wete, touchyng the p'pose cast ageyns zowre hye estat, havyng ye Erle of Marche by his awne assent, and by ye assent of myself wher of y most me repent of al worlde thyng and by ye acorde of ye Lord Scrop and Sr Thomas Grey, to have[a] hadde ye forseyd Erle in to ye lond of Walys wyth outyn zowre lycence takyng up on hym ye sovereynte of zys lond zyf yondyr manis persone, wych yey callyn Kynge Richard hadde nauth bene alyve, as y wot wel yat he nys not alyve, for ye wych poynt I putte me holy in zowre grace; and as for ye forme of a proclamacyoun wych schulde hadde bene cryde in ye Erle name as ye heyre to ye corowne of Ynglond, a geyns zow, my lege Lord calde by auntreu name Harry of Lancastre usurpur of Ynglond to ye entent to hadde made ye more poeple to hade draune to hym and fro zow, of ye wych crye Scrop knew not of by me, but Grey dyd, havyng wyth ye Erle a baner of ye armes of Ynglond, havyng also ye coroune of Speyne on a palet, wych my lege lord is one of zowre weddys[b] for ye wych offence y putte me holy in zowre grace. And as for ye p'pose takyn by Unfrevyle and Wederyngtoun for ye bryngyng in of yat p'sone wych yey namyd Kyng Richard and Herry Percy oute of Scotland wyth a power of Scottys and theyre power togedyrs semyng to theyme able to geve zow a bataylle of ye wych entent Sr Thomas Grey wyst of, and i also, but nauth Scrop as by me; of ye wych knawyng i submytte me holy into zowre grace. And as for ye takyng of zowre castelles in Walys, Davy Howell, made me be host, so there were a steryng in ye north of ye wych poynt i putte me holy in zowre grace. And as touchyng ye Erle of Marche and Lusy hys man they seydyn me both[a] yat ye Erle was nauth

[a] *Sic.*

[b] *Wedde*, a pawn or pledge. It would appear that "the crown of Spain on a palet," had been pledged as security for money due from that country, and the said "Palet" was afterwards pawned by Henry to one of his own subjects, for a similar purpose.

schreven of a grete whyle, but that al hys confessours putte hym in penaunce to clayme yat yey callyddyn hys ryth, yat wod be yat tyme yat every i knew heny thyng yat ever to hym longyd[a]

of ye wych poyntes and artycles here befor wretyn and of al odyr wych now arne nauth in mynde but trewly as oft as heny to myn mynde fallyn i schal deuly and treuly certefye zow yer of, besekyng to zow my lege Lord for hys love yat suffyrd passyoun on ye good fryday so have zee conpassyoun on me zowre lege man, and zyf heny of yes p'sones whos names arne conteynd in zys bylle, woldyn contrary ye substaunce of yat i have wretyn at zys tyme, i schalle be redy wyth ye myth of God to make hyt good, as zee my lege Lord wylle awarde me."

[*Ibid. f. 7. Original.*]

LETTER FROM THE EARL OF CAMBRIDGE TO THE KING, IMPLORING MERCY.

"Myn most dredfulle and sovereyne lege Lord, i Richard York zowre humble subgyt and verrey lege man, beseke zow of grace of all maner offenses wych y have done or assentyd to in heny kynde, by steryng of odyr folke eggyng me yer to, wherein y wote wel i have hyll offendyd to zowre Hynesse; besechyng zow at ye reverence of God yat zow lyke to take me in to ye handys of zowre mercyfulle and pytouse grace, thenkyng zee wel of zowre gret goodnesse. My lege Lord my fulle trust is yat zee wylle have consyderacyoun thauth yat myn persone be of none valwe, zowre hye goodnesse where God hath sette zow in so hye estat to every lege man yat to zow longyth plenteuously to geve grace, yat zow lyke to accept zys myn symple requuest for ye love of oure Lady and of ye blysfulle Holy Gost, to whom i pray yat yey mot zowre hert enduce to al pyte and grace for yeyre hye goodnesse."[b]

[a] Here the writer appears to have erased nearly two lines.

[b] Both these documents are printed in the *Fœdera*, vol. ix. p. 301, but some slight differences exist between the copies there given, and the originals.

N° V.

REMARKS ON THE NAVY OF HENRY THE FIFTH.

[Referred to in p. 49.]

The following is a list of what may be termed the ROYAL NAVY in the reign of Henry the Fifth, copied from a paper in the Cottonian MS. *Cleopatra*, F. iii., f. 152, to which the date of February, 4 Hen. V. 1417, has been assigned.

LES NOUNS DES NIEFS ET VESSEAULX DU ROY.

La Trinitee, Le Seint Espirit, iij Carrakes, Le Nicholas.	Grandz niefs.	Le George, La Ane, Le Gabriel de Hareflieu, Le Cracchere, Le James, Le Cigne, Le petit Johan, Le Nicholas & ij autres.	Ballingers.
La Katerine, Le Gabriel, Le Thomas, La Marie, Le Roodecoge, La petite Tinitee, ij autres.	Barges.		

An idea may be formed of the persons then employed in ships of war, and of their wages from another paper in the same volume, whence it appears that, "for the safety of the seas," from the 24th of June, 1415, to the 1st of November following, being one quarter and thirty-nine days, £1631 15*s*. were allowed, which were thus distributed: To the admiral for the wages of 50 men-at-arms at 12*d*. a day, and 150 archers at 6*d*. a day, £812 10*s*., and for the wages of four masters at 6*d*. each per diem, and 250 sailors at 3*d*. a day each, for four ships, £819 5*s*. Sixty-two seamen seem therefore to have been necessary for each vessel. It is scarcely possible to state the exact size of Henry's ships. Bree in his "Cursory Sketch of the Naval and Military Establishments" in the 14th century, conjectures that the largest did not exceed 800 tons; but it is not likely that any were nearly so large, whilst it is evident from the writ to Nicholas Maudyt, cited in page 17, that none were under twenty tons. To judge from contemporary illuminations, the largest could not possibly have been above

five hundred tons: and the probability is, that they were much smaller. A very interesting letter about a ship which was building for Henry the Fifth at Bayonne is printed in the Second Series of Ellis's Original Letters, vol. i. p. 69, which states that she was 186 feet long and about 39 broad.

The following list of Henry's ships in the fifth year of his reign, 1417, is given in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, Vol. xciv. Part ii. p. 402, from the Records in the Tower, together with the names and wages of their masters.

"By the King,

"Worshipful fader in God, we send you closed within this lettre a cedule contenyng the names of certein maistres for owr grete shippes, carrakes, barges, and balyngers, to the whiche maistres we have granted annuitee, such as is appointed upon eche of hem in the same cedule, to take yerely of owr grante, while that us lust, at owr Eschequer of Westm' att the termes of Michelmasse and Ester by even porcions. Wherefore we wol and charge you that unto eche of the said maistres ye do make under our greet seel, beyng in youre warde, our lettres patentes severales in due forme after th' effect and pourport of owr said grante. Yeven under our signet atte our Castel of Tongues the xij day of Aoust. [1417.]

"Au Rev'end pere en Dieu l'Eveque de Duresme n're Chancellier d'Angleterre."

Ships.	Masters.	Annuities.	Mariners.
La grande Nief, J'he....	John William....	£6 13 4	6
La Trinite Roiale.....	Steph. Thomas...	6 13 4	6
La Holygost.....	Jordan Brownyng	6 13 4	6
La Carrake le Petre..	John Gerard.. ...	6 13 4	6
La Carrack le Paule....	Wm. Payne.....,	6 13 4	6
La Carrack le Andrewe	John Thornyng..	6 13 4	6
La Carrack le Xp'ofre..	—— Tendrell....	6 13 4	6
La Carracke le Marie.....	Wm. Richeman..	6 13 4	6
La Carrack le Marie....	Wm. Hethe.....	6 13 4	6
La Carrack le George.....	John Mersh.....	6 13 4	6
La Carrack le Agus.....			2
La Nief Nicholas.....	Wm. Robinson...	100 0	3
La Nief la Katheryne.....	John Kyngeston..	100 0	3
La Nief la Marie.....	Rib. Walsh.....	100 0	3
La Nief la Flaward.....	Thos. Martyn....	100 0	3
La Nief le Marie.....	Wm. Cheke.....	100 0	3
La Nief le Xp'ofre.....	Wm. Yalton	100 0	3
La Barge la Petite Trinite..	John Piers..	66 8	2
La Balynger le Anne..	R. Hoskard.....	66 8	3
La Balynger le Nicholas.....	Rob. Shad.....	66 8	3
La Balynger le George....	Edw. Hoper.....	66 8	3
La Balynger le Cracchere.....	Stephen Welles..	66 8	3
La Balynger le Gabriell...	Andrew Godefrey	66 8	3
La Balynger le litell John.....	John Bull.....	66 8	2
La Balynger le James por le Holy-gost	Janyn Cossard...	——	2
La Balynger le Swan por le Trinite...	—— Rowe.....	——	2
La Balynger le Kateryne..	Janyn Dene.....	66 8	2

In all twenty-seven ships and vessels. Henry the Fifth has been considered the first English Monarch who established a permanent navy; and in the *Libel of English Policie*, which was written in 1433, some of the vessels noticed in the preceding list are alluded to:

"And if I should conclude all by the King
Henrie the Fift, what was his purposing,
When at Hampton he made the great Dromon,
Which passed other great ships of all the Commons,
The Trinitie, the Grace de Dieu, the Holy Ghost,
And other moe which as now be lost."

Thus distinguishing the ships furnished by the Commons, or Sea Ports, from those belonging to His Majesty. It is a singular circumstance that there is no complete History of the Royal Navy of England, a subject, it might be supposed, of peculiar interest to a great maritime country, and for which ample materials exist.

N° VI.

TRANSLATION OF THE COMPLAINT OF THE SIEUR DE GAUCOURT AGAINST LOUIS, SEIGNEUR D'ESTOUTEVILLE.

[Referred to in page 60.[a]—From a MS. in the Baluz Collection of the Bibliothèque du Roi No. 544, and communicated by Dr. John Gordon Smith,[b] to the Royal Society of Literature, in April, 1827.]

The following is the statement of me, Gaucourt, on which I have a cause pending in the Court of Requests at Paris, against Mons. Louis, now Seigneur D'Estouteville, as heir to his late father, who in his life-time was the Seigneur D'Estouteville.

[a] Consisting of four folio leaves, written so closely, and the ink so faded, that here and there it was impossible to make out the word.

[b] It was a singular coincidence that the officers and soldiers of the regiment to which Dr. Smith belonged, were presented with the medals which they gained at Waterloo, on the field of Agincourt; and he remarks "to several of my intelligent brother officers, as well as to myself, the place naturally imparted the interest which an acquaintance with its history could not fail to excite; and we consequently amused ourselves with reconnoitring excursions, comparing the actual state of the localities with authentic accounts of the transactions of 1415. The changes that have taken place have been singularly few; and an attentive explorer would be able to trace, with considerable accuracy, the greater part of the route pursued by the English army in their retreat out of Normandy towards Calais. The field of Azincour remains sufficiently *in statu quo*, to render the accounts of the battle perfectly intelligible; nor are those wanting, near the spot, whose traditionary information enables them to heighten the interest with oral description, accompanied by a sort of ocular demonstration. Those who travel to Paris *via* St. Omer and Abbeville, pass over the field of battle, which skirts the high road (to the left, in the direction just mentioned,) about sixteen miles beyond St. Omer; two on the Paris side of a considerable village or bourg, named Fruges; about eight north of the fortified town of Hesdin; and thirty, or thereabout, in the same direction from Abbeville. All accounts of the battle mention the hamlet of Ruisseauville, through which place the high road to Paris now passes.

"Azincour is a commune, or parish, consisting of a most uninteresting collection of farmers' residences, and cottages, such, as in that part of the country, are met with in all directions; once, however, distinguished by a castle, of which nothing now remains but the foundation. The scene of the contest lies between the commune and the adjoining one of Tramecour, in a wood belonging to which latter the King concealed those archers whose prowess and vigour contributed so eminently to the glorious result. Part of

In the first place, It is true that when the late King of England, last deceased, laid siege to the town of Harfleur, in which were the late Seigneur d'Estouteville, the said De Gaucourt, with several other knights and esquires, it happened that, through want of provisions and the mortality which pervaded the town, we were compelled to surrender the same town: in consequence whereof we all became the prisoners of the King of England. Further; as the greater part of us were extremely sick, the King of England granted us indulgence, upon our swearing, promising, and sealing an obligation that we would all find our way to Calais, and appear before him on the approaching day of St. Martin; which engagement we performed. Moreover, having arrived at Calais, D'Estouteville and myself demanded that, as we had fulfilled our engagements, such as had been entered into by those who, on his part, had concluded the treaty of Harfleur, should likewise be kept; but he replied, that whatever these parties might have said to us, we should all remain prisoners.

Further; he afterwards said, that seven or eight score of his servants and subjects were very harshly treated as prisoners in France, and that if we desired our liberation, we should exert ourselves to obtain theirs: but as they were not of rank equal to our own, he should take the opinion of two French and of two English gentlemen as to the reasonable sum which each of us ought to pay, upon which we should be set at liberty. Upon which D'Estouteville and I spoke to the Dukes of Orleans and Bourbon, and to the Counts d'Eu, de Richemont, de Vendôme, and likewise to the Mareschal de Boucicault, who were all prisoners at Calais; and upon consideration of the matter, they gave it as their opinion that if we did not agree to the conditions of the King, we should run a very great risk of being detained a long time prisoners in England, without having it in our power to obtain our liberty. And as, for my own part, I was by no means cured of my severe complaint, he gave me leave to return to France, in order to arrange about the liberation of these prisoners. But, besides this, he mentioned that he had lost some of his Jewels at the battle of Azincour, which it would be a great thing for us if we could recover; and then he insisted that we should furnish him with two hundred casks of Beaune wine, at London, which should also be taken into account on our behalf.

Upon which assurance, I returned to France, and incurred great loss, as well as trouble, in the liberation of from six to seven score

this wood still remains; though (if I remember rightly), at the time of our visits, the corner into which the bowmen were thrown had been materially thinned, if indeed the original timber had not been entirely cut down, and its place but scantily supplied by brush or underwood. Some of the trees, however, in the wood of Tramecour, were very old in 1816."

prisoners, gentlemen, merchants, and soldiers; advancing [a deposit], so that upon paying the surplus, they might be set at liberty by a certain day. I exerted myself to the utmost to recover the Jewels, which were already dispersed, and in different hands, and did all in my power to recover the King of England's crown, which was in his coffers, as well as a cross of gold, and very rich stones, containing a piece of the true cross, half a foot in length, and the cross-piece more than a good inch wide, with the [globe?] used at the coronation of the King of England, as well as several other things which he was very anxious to recover; in particular, the seals of the said King's chancery. Before my departure I also purchased and paid for the two hundred casks of Beaune wine, and then returned to England, bringing back and presenting the seals. I represented with what difficulty I had secured the liberation of the six or seven score prisoners, the above-mentioned Jewels, and the wine. [The remaining part of this paragraph is so obscure that it must be given in the original.] Mais M. D'Estouteville ne moy ne pourrons trover manier envers nos seigneurs et amis de lettres povoir deliver ne amener en Angleterre que nos dite seigneurs et amis ne veisst qe nous eussions seurete d'avoir p'ce moien nos delivrances.

Then the said King of England stated that he was perfectly satisfied with our diligence, but that we should convey every thing to London, when he would give orders for our liberation according to his promise at Calais, concerning which we did not entertain any doubt. Upon this we consulted the aforesaid dukes and counts, in whose presence the matter was well considered. It appeared that our case was hard, and that the wishes of the King of England were by no means reasonable, although, upon considering his conditions, it was possible that he might say, that since we had no reliance on his word, he should know what he ought to do concerning our liberation. It was advised and concluded, all things well considered, that it would be better for us to convey everything to London; for as his word, both at Calais and London, had been pledged before several respectable persons, he would not only act up to, but exceed, it. But if, on the other hand, we did not convey them to London, we might lose what we had already advanced, and would run the risk of a long and uncomfortable imprisonment. Upon this I employed all my interest with my friends, and incurred such responsibilities and obligations, that I obtained the liberation of the six or seven score prisoners, whom I supplied with new clothes and liveries, and likewise brought to London in a ship hired for the purpose. In like manner I brought the aforesaid jewels, which, as well as the prisoners, were safely deposited in the Tower of London; and in about a fortnight afterwards the ship with the wine reached London likewise. All which being

accomplished, we demanded that, as we had executed every thing that had been required of us, he would be pleased to grant us our liberty according to promise made both at Calais and London.

But notwithstanding the diligence we had manifested, he set out from London without giving us any sort of answer, and without so much as paying the expense incurred by maintaining the prisoners within the aforesaid Tower for the space of four months and a half. After which, without saying any thing either to D'Estouteville or myself, he caused all the prisoners to be set at liberty at whatever rate he thought proper; but without our knowledge or consent, and without making us the slightest compensation for my purchases and advances, either on their account or that of the jewels, which amounted to more than 13,000 crowns. And when he left England, to return to France, and afterwards when in that country, we had several memorials presented to him on the subject of our release; but could never obtain any answer or decision. In this way the sum of 13,000 crowns and upwards was lost, in part on account of the late M. D'Estouteville, or his son aforesaid, his representative. He is consequently still indebted to me in the moiety; that is to say, 7000 crowns and upwards. Thus the late D'Estouteville and myself remained prisoners till after the death of the said King of England.

After the death of the said King, my relations and friends arranged with the Earl of Huntingdon, who was a prisoner in France, that in settling about his own release he should obtain mine for a ransom of 9000 [crowns], to which effect he gave his letters to my friends aforesaid. When this came to the knowledge of the Lord of Cornwall,[a] in whose custody we both were; he swore that unless D'Estouteville could provide himself with a ransom he would not let me go. I was therefore detained on D'Estouteville's account, and compelled to enter with him into a new obligation, we being both estimated at 20,000 crowns' ransom, which was 10,000 each. Our ransom being settled in this manner, it was agreed on by ourselves and the other French gentlemen, that I Gaucourt, should repair to France, and exert myself to raise the 20,000 crowns; upon which D'Estouteville furnished me with sufficient acknowledgments that he would well and truly repay me every thing I might advance for his payments and ransom. But in order to raise for him the 10,000 crowns, his share of the sum, he furnished me with special authority to dispose of his estate of Hontot, with other matters clearly declared in the said authority. [The remaining sentence must be given in the original.] Et avec ce est.....par moy a de ce ses amis qui estoient en France pour luy ayder au fait de sa delivrance qui.....pour sa co'pte.

[a] Sir John Cornwall, Lord Fanhope.

Seeing however, the little assistance that was likely to be obtained from the friends of M. D'Estouteville, and impelled by my great and sincere regard for him, I exerted myself in such a manner, that by loans and purchases among my own friends and connexions, I made up the sum of 20,000 crowns, and without the sale of the estate of Hontot, which I was authorised to proceed in by D'E.'s own instructions. I paid on his account, and as his ransom, the sum of 9963 golden crowns, expecting that upon his liberation he would fully and honourably reimburse me, as in duty bound, and which I doubt not he would have done, had it pleased God to prolong his life. It is moreover true, that, when he lay upon his death-bed, he sent for his son, the present D'Estouteville, and expressly enjoined him to discharge every obligation I had laid him under; of which the good father who confessed him at the point of death has already borne testimony. And after the death of the said D'Estouteville I several times requested his son, Monsr. Louis, to satisfy and pay me the said sum of 17,000 crowns, due on the part of his deceased father, both as the amount of his ransom and other expences and advances, as above set forth, which the said Mons. Louis was, and still remains, [indebted to me].

Upon this has been instituted the present process between us in the Requests at Paris, to recover the aforesaid sum of 17,000 crowns, principal and other expences, demanded by me, De Gaucourt, of the said Sieur D'Estouteville, as already set forth. It it likewise to be observed, that the said D'Estouteville has in reply simply denied the letters and seals of the documents produced by De Gaucourt, saying, that they were of no value, or if they were, that he had nothing to do with the matter, as he had never pretended to be heir to his late father. And the affair has been so far proceeded in, that depositions have been made on my part, and we have been ordered to produce the letters, and lay before the court the necessary proofs according to form. During the delay that necessarily ensued in the course of the process, the said D'Estouteville, or his solicitors, five years after the production of the said letters, obtained a remission for the production of other letters; and among other things, he produced a small letter, by which it is presented and maintained that all the gifts and assistance which were granted in France to De Gaucourt, on account of the ransom, ought, to the extent of one half, to be accounted for the benefit, and applied to the discharge, of D'Estouteville's expences. Which article De Gaucourt contradicts, and maintains to be false, as manifestly appears by the statements and allegations more fully and formally set forth in a roll of paper marked A.

And this is the substance of the present matter.

N° VII.

TRANSLATION OF THE CHALLENGE TO THE DAUPHIN.

[Referred to in page 71.—From the *Fœdera*, vol. ix. p. 313.]

Henry by the grace of God King of England and of France, and Lord of Ireland, to the high and puissant Prince, the Dauphin of Vienne, our Cousin, eldest son of the most puissant Prince, our Cousin and Adversary of France. From the reverence of God, and to avoid the effusion of human blood, We have many times, and in many ways, sought peace, and notwithstanding that We have not been able to obtain it, our desire to possess it increases more and more. And well considering that the effect of our wars are the deaths of men, destruction of countries, lamentations of women and children, and so many general evils that every good christian must lament it and have pity, and We especially, whom this matter more concerns, We are induced to seek diligently for all possible means to avoid the above-mentioned evils, and to acquire the approbation of God, and the praise of the world.

Whereas We have considered and reflected, that as it hath pleased God to visit our said Cousin your Father, with infirmity, with Us and You lie the remedy, and to the end that every one may know that We do not prevent it, We offer to place our quarrel, at the will of God, between Our person and Your's. And if it should appear to you that you cannot accept this offer on account of the interest which you think our said Cousin your Father has in it, We declare to you that if you are willing to accept it and to do what we propose, it pleases us to permit that our said Cousin, from the reverence of God and that he is a sacred person, shall enjoy that which he at present has for the term of his life, whatever it may please God shall happen between Us and You, as it shall be agreed between his council, our's, and your's. Thus, if God shall give us the victory, the crown of France with its appurtenances as our right, shall be immediately rendered to us without difficulty, after his decease, and that to this all the lords and estates of the kingdom of France shall be bound in manner as shall be agreed between us. For it is better for us, Cousin, to decide this war for ever between our two

persons, than to suffer the unbelievers by means of our quarrels to destroy Christianity, our mother the Holy Church to remain in division, and the people of God to destroy one another. We pray that you may have such anxious desire to it, and to seek for peace, that you will neglect no means by which it can be obtained. Let us hope in God, that a better or shorter way of effecting it cannot be found; and therefore in discharge of our soul, and in charge of your's, if great evils follow, we propose to you what is above said. Protesting that we make this our offer to the honor and fear of God, and for the reasons above mentioned, of our own motion without our loyal relations, counsellors, and subjects now around us, having in so high a matter dared to advise us; nor can it at any time to come be urged to our prejudice, nor in prejudice of our good right and title which we have at present to the said crown with its appurtenances; nor to the good right and title which we now have to other our lands and heritages on this side the sea; nor to our heirs and successors, if this our offer does not take full effect between us and you, in the manner above said. Given under our Privy Seal, at our town of Harfleur, the xvi day of September." [a]

[a] See some remarks on the date of this letter in page 72.

N° VIII.

THEIS BE STATUTES AND ORDENANCES MADE BY THE RIGHT NOBLE PRINCE KINGE HENRY THE FIFFT AT TRETY AND COUNSEILL OF MAUNT.

[Referred to in pages 53, 106, and others. From the MS. in the College of Arms, marked L 5.]

Obeysaunce

First that all maner of men of what soever nacion estate or condicion soever he be, be obbeis[a]unt to our Soveraigne lord the Kinge and to his Constable and Marshall, upon peyne of as moche as he may forfeite in bodey and in goodes

For Holy Churche

Also that no man be so hardy, of lesse that he be prest, to touche the sacrament of Godes bodey, upon payn to be drawen and hangede therfor; nor that no maner man be so hardy to touche the box or vessell in the whiche the precious sacrement is in, upon the same payne aforsaide

For Holy Churche

Also that no maner of man be so hardey to robbe, ne to pille Holy Church of no good ne ornament that longeth to the Churche, ne to slee no man of Holy Churche, religious, ne non other, but if he be armed, upon payne of deathe. Nether that no man be so hardey to slee, ne enforce, no woman upon the same payne; And that no man take no woman p'soner, man of Holy Church, ne other religious, but if he be armed, upon payne of enprisonament, and his bodey at the Kinges will[a]

For Herbergage

Also that no man be so hardey to go to for' in the bataill[b] undre the baner or penon of his lorde or master, excepte herbergers, the names of whome shalbe delyvered and take to the Constable and Marishall by their saide lordes and masters, upon this payne, he that otherwise offendeth shalbe put from his hors and harnes bothe unto the warde of the Constable and Marshall unto the tyme that he that offendeth have made his fyne with the saide Constabell and Marishall, and fonde surties that he shall no more offende

[a] "Upon pain of hanging." Statutes of Richard the Second's Army, A° 1386.

[b] "To goo before, but abide in his bataill." *Ibid.*

For Herbergage

Also that no man take non herbergage, but if it be by the assignement of the Constable and Marishall or of the herbergers, and that after tyme that the herbergage is assigned and delyvered, that no man be so hardy him self to remove ne to disaraye for any thinge that maye falle, without comandement of him that hathe power, upon payne of hors and harnyes to be put in areste of Constable and Marishall to the tyme they have made fyne with theim, and more over his bodey at the Kinges wille

For kepinge of Wacche and Warde

Also that every man be obeysaunt to his capitayn to kepe his wacche and warde and forye, and to doe all that longeth a souldeour to doon, upon payne of his hors and harnes to be put in the warde of the Marishall unto the tyme that he that in this offendeth hathe agreede with his capitayn, after the warde of the courte

For takinge of Prisoners

Also be it at Bataille or other dede of armes wher that presoners be take, he that furst may have his say[a] shall have him for his p'soner, and shall not nede to abide upon him to the ende of the Journey; and none other shall more take him for p'resoner but if that it be that the saide presoner be founde for his defendaunt

For Robinge of Marchantes com'yng to the Market

Also that no man be so hardy to pille ne robbe non other of vitaile, ne of noe other lyvelode the whiche they have by beinge, upon payne of deathe; and that no man robbe no vitiller ne marchant, ne non other persone comyng unto the marke, vitillers, or other marchandies, for the refresshement of the oste, upon the same payne; ne that no man robe from other horsemen or manes mete, ne non other thinge that is goten of enemyes goodes, upon the payne his body to be arested at the Kings will

For Barteteurs[b]

Also that no man debate for armes, prisoners, lodging, ne for none other thinge, so that no riott, contek, ne debate be in the oste; ne that no man make him p'tye in assembley of the people, ne non other wise, and that as well of p'ncipall as of other p'ties, upon payne of lesinge their hors and harnes till they have made fyne with the Constable and Marishall, and their bodies to be arestede at the Kinges

[a] Sic. Query "fay," *i. e.* faith. *See* a subsequent note.

[b] Barrator or Barretor, a common mover, exciter, or maintainer, of suits and quarrels.

will, and if he be grome or page he shall lese his lifte[a] eare therfor, and if any man fynde him greved let him shewe his grevance to the Constable and Marishall, and right shalbe done

For Debate

Also that no man make no debate nor contek for any hate of tyme past, ne for tyme to come,[b] for the whiche hate if any man be dede for suche contek or debate, he or they that be encheson or pateners of the deathe, shalbe hanged therfor; or if it hape that any man escrye his owne name, or his capitayne, lord, or master, to make a risinge of the people, by the whiche any affraye myght fall in the oste, he that in suche wise asketh shall be drawen and hanged therfor = askrieth

For theim that crye Havoke

Also[c] no man be so hardey to crye havok upon peyne that he that is founde begynn' to die therfor, and the reme[a]unt that don the same, ther hors and harnes to be put in the warde of the Counstable and Marishall unto the tyme they have made fyne with theim and their bodies in preson at the Kinges will till they have found surties that they shall no more offende

For unlawfull Scryes

Also[d] that non escrye, the whiche is called mount, ne non other unresonable escrye be in the oste, upon peyne that he that is fonde begynner of suche unresonable escrie be put from his hors and harnes, and his bodie in areste of Counstable and Marishall to the tyme he have made his fyne with theim, and his bodye at the Kinges will and his life; and he that certifiethe whoe is the begynner shall have an C*s* for his labor of the Counstable and Marishall.

For Mustres

Also when it liketh the Kinge to take mustres of his hoste, that no man be so hardy to have other men at his musters than thoo that be

[a] "righte eare." *Ibid.*

[b] "of old greves, nor for non new." *Ibid.*

[c] "Also that non be so hardi to crie havok, upon payne to have their hedde smeten off; and that he or they that be begynners of the said crie shal have also their hedys streken of and theyr bodyes to be hanged by their armes." *Ibid.*

[d] "Also that non be so hardi to crie to horsebak in the hoste for the great parell that myght falle to all the hoste, whiche God defende, and this on payne to lese his beste horse yf he be a man of armys or archer on horse-bak, and if he be a archer on fote or other boye or page, he shall have the right ear cut off." *Ibid.*

with him self witholde for the same viage, without fraude, upon payne to be holde fals and reproved, and also to lose his wages and payment that shulde longe to him

For Prysoners

Also if any man' dede of Armes be, and if any man be borne to the earthe, he that first so hathe borne him to the earthe shall have him to prysoner; but so be that a nother cometh after, and takethe the fey[a] of the saide presoner, then the smyther down shall have the one half, and the taker of the feith[a] the other half; but he that taketh the feith[a] shall have the warde of the presoner, making sufficient suertye to his partyner for the other half

For Prysoners

Also if that any man take a prisoner, and any other man come unto him askinge parte, manatyng ells[b] that he wolde slay the saide presoner, he shall have no parte thoughe so bee that partie have ben graunted him: and if he slaye the presoner he shalbe arested by the Marishall, and put in warde without delyverance till he have made a fyne after the awarde of [the] Counstable

For the paynge of Thyrdes

Also that every man pay his thirdes to his capitayne, lorde, or master, of all maner wynyng by wares, and that aswell thoo that be not in soulde but longynge under the baner or penon of their capitayn, upon payne to lose his parte of his forsaid wynyng to his capitayn, and his body to be in warde of the Marishall, unto the tyme he have agreede with his forseide master.

For theim that maketh themselves Captianes to withdrawe men from the Hoste.

Also that no man be so hardy to rese baner or penon of Sinte George, ne of no other, to drawe together the people, and to with drawe

[a] The words in the Manuscript are "sey" and "seith;" but they have been altered on the authority of the following passage, and from its being obviously a mistake:

"Yf any maner of recounteryng of enmies be, and in the same any enmy be overthrowen, thow he that hath borne him doune goth forth and foloweth the chace, and another cometh and taketh the *faith* of the said enmy, he shall have the halfe of the raunsom of the said prisoner; and he that overthrew hym, hym the other halfe, so that he that hath his *faith* shall have the kepyng of the prisoner, gevyng suretie to his partener. *Ibid.*

[b] *i. e.* Menacing else.—"have parte in thretenyng or elles will kille him." *Ibid.*

theim out of the oste to goe to eny other partye, upon peyne of theim that in suche wise make theim self Capitaynes to be draw and hanged; and they that him sue or folow to have their hedes smyten of, and all their goodes and haritag' forfaited to the Kinge

A statute for theim that bere not a bande of Seint George.

Also that every man of what estate [or] condicion that he be, of our p'tie beare a bande of Seint George sufficiant large, upon the perille if he be wounded or dede in the fawte therof, he that him wondeth or [sleyeth] shall bere no payne for him; and that non enemye bere the saide signe of Seint George, but if he be presoner and in the warde of his master, upon peyne of deathe therfore

For theim that Assaute without leve of the Kinge

Also that no man' assault be made to Castell ne to Strength by Archer ne by non other of the Comons without the p'sence of a man of astate; and if any assault be and the King, Constable, or Marshall, or any lorde of the office, sende to distourbe the saide assaulte, that no man be so hardy to assault after; and if any man do it, he shalbe presoned and lose all his other p'fett that he hathe wone by the forsaide assault, and his hors and [harness] in the warde of the Counstable and Marishall

For to bringe in p'soners in to the Kings knowledg, Counstable, and Marishall

Also if any man take any p'soner, anon right as he is come into the oste, that he bringe his p'soner unto his Capitayne or master, upon payne of losinge of his parte to his forsaide Capitayne or master; and then that his saide Capitayne or master bring him within viii dayes to the King, Counstable, or Marshall, or as sone as he may, so that he be not ladde non other waye[a] upon peyne to lose his parte to him that shall doe furst the Counstable and Marishall havyng witing thereof; and that every man kepe or do kepe his prisoner that he ride not, nor goo at large in the oste ne in lodginges, but if warde be had upon him, upon peyne of losinge of the same presoner; res'vyng to his lorde or master his thyrdes of the hole if he be not p'tye of the defaulte, and the

[a] "So that he may be examyned of the newes and conveyance of th' enamyes, upon payne to lose his thirdes to hym that can firste geve knowledge to the cunstable or marshall; and that everi man kepe or cause to be kepte with' his men his prisoner, that he rideth not forthe with the battailes, nor to goo abrode to see the lodgynges without havyng good watching upon him, so that he not espie the privetes of the hoste, upon payne to lese his said prisoner, reservying the thirdes of the hoole to his said lorde or maister if he be not founde in the faulte." *Ibid.*

ij parte to him that first shall accuse him, and the iij^{de} p'te to the Counstable and Marishall: also more over, his bodye areste to the Kinges wille; also that he suffer not his p'soner to go out of the oste for his ransom, ne for non other cause, without sauf conduyte, upon the peyne aforsaide

For kepinge of Wache

Also that every man kepe duley his wache in the oste that with as many men of armes and archers as to him shalbe assigned, but if he have a cause resonable; and to bide upon his wache and warde the terme to him lymytied, nor departing from the wache no way be it by thassignement or lycence of him by the whiche the saide wache is made, upon payne of smytynge of his head that otherwise departeth

For the gyving of Saufcondut or Conges and for to breke theim

Also that no man geve no saufcondute to prysoner, ne to non other, nor lycence to non enemye to come nor to to go owte of the oste, ne into the oste, upon payne to forfaite all his goodes to the Kinge and his bodye in areste at the Kinges wille, excepte our liege lord the Kinge, Counstable, and Marishall: and that no man be so hardy to breke our liege lorde the Kings saufcondute upon payne to be drawen and hanged, and his goodes and heritages forfayte to the Kinge, nother the Constable and Marishall saufcondute upon payne of deathe[a]

For the withdrawing mens Servauntes from ther Masters

Also that no man be so hardey to take no servant of other, the whiche is in convenant with him for the viage, aswell souldiour, man of armes, archer, grome, page, after tyme he is kende or chalanged by his master, upon payne his body to be arested to the tyme he have agrede to the partye complaynᵃnt after the warde of the courte, and his hors and harneys to the Counstable and Marishall till he have made his fyne

For departing from the Oste without leve

Also that no man departe from the stale without leve and licence of his lorde or master, upon payne that he that otherwise departeth to

[a] "To have their hedes smyten off." *Ibid.*—The following occurs after this article:

"Also if any man take a prisoner that he take his faith, and his hedde pece, or his right gauntelet of hym in a gage, and in token that he hath so taken hym, or elles to leve hym in kepyng with some of his men, upon payne that if he do not as ys said, an another cometh after and taketh hym, if he be owte of kepyng as ys said, other hedde pece or gauntelot in gauge, he shall have the said prisoner, how be it thow the firste have his faith." *Ibid.*

be arestedand in the warde of [the] Marishall and at the Kinges wille of his life; and also to lose all his wynynge of that day, reserved to his lorde or master the thirdes of his wynynge, and to the lorde of the stale surplus of the same wynyng wone by him that same day, and so from day to day till the ordynance be kepte

For Scryes made by the enemyes in the Oste

Also if any ascrye fall in the oste when they be logged, that every man drawe him to the King or the chiefteyn of the bataill wher he is lodged, levinge his lodging sufficiantly kept, but if the enemyes fall on that side ther as he is lodged, and in this case the said Capitayn shall abide therin himself and all his men

For kepinge of the Countre

And if any Countrey or lordeship be wonne other by fre wille offered unto the Kinges obeysaunce that no man be so hardey to robe or pille therein after that the peas is proclamyed upon payne of deathe; and if any man of what degre soever he be come unto our saide lordes obeisaunce, that no man take him, robe him, nor pille him, upon the same payne, so that he or they that this wille obeye bere a token of our soveraigne lorde the King

For theim that Raunsom their Prisoners or sell without leave of ther Lordes or Capitanes.

Also that no man be so hardey to raunsome or sell his presoner without especall licence of his capitayn, the whiche indenteth with the King under his letter and seale; and that upon payne that he that doeth the contrarye therof to forfaitte his parte in the p'soner unto his capitayn, and he to be under areste of the Marishall to the tyme he have aggred withe his capitayn, and that no man by no suche p'soner upon payne to lose the golde and money that he paieth for him, and the presoner to be arested to the Capitayn aforsaide

A statute for Children within the age of xiiij yeres

Also that no man be so hardey to take no childerne within the age of xiiij yere, but if he be a lordes sonne, or els a worshipfull gentelmans sonne, or a capitayne; and that as sone as he hathe brought him into the oste or in to the gernyson where his is abyding that he brynge him to the lorde, master, or capitayn, upon payn of losing hors, harneys, and his part of the same childe, res'vyng unto his lorde, master, or capitayn, his duety so that they be not consentant unto the defaulte; also that the saide lorde, master, or capitayn, bryng him unto the King or Counstable within viij dayes upon

For Women that lie in Gesem[a]

Also that no maner of man be so hardy to goe into no chamber or lodging wher that any woman lieth in gesem, her to robbe ne pille of no goodes the whiche longeth unto her refressheing, ne for to make non affray wher through she and her childe myght be in any disease or dispere, upon payn that he that in suche wise offendeth shall losse all his goodes half unto that acuseth him, and halfe unto the Counstable and Marshall, and himself to be dede but if the King geve him his grace

For the resisting of Justice

And if any man be juged to the death by the Kinge, Connstable, Marishall, or any other Juge ordynarye, or any other office lawfull, that no maner man be so hardy to sett hand on the condempned to resiste the Kings juget, upon payn that, and the saide condempned be traytour, he that is the chif to have the same death that unto him belongeth; and all those that be participant or consenting to have their hedes smeten of; and if it be any other cause criminall, the causer of the resistinge to have the same deathe that the saide jugged shuld have, and the remenant at the Kinges wille

For theim that fortifie places without leave of the Kinge

Also that no man be so hardye to edyfie nor to strengh' no maner of place disappered by the King or his Counseill, without esp'all comaundement of theim that have power; and also that no man compell the countrey, the whiche is in the obeysaunce or appatysedeb unto our soveraigne lorde the Kinge, to come unto the donage, reparacon, wacche or warde, of the saide place, upon payne of losynge his hors and harneys and to restowr ayen or make satisfaccon unto the countrey wher that he hathe offended the costes and damages, and mor over his bodey at the Kinges wille

For theim that Robbe and pille Lodginges

Also that no man be so hardy to robbe nor pille non others lodginge after tyme it is assigned by the harbyngers ne to lodge ther within without leave of him the whiche the lodginge is assigned to, upon payne of emprysonament after the warde of the Counstable and Marishall

[a] In childbed. Gesine, "Etat d'une femme en couche, accouchement." Gesir, "Etre couché, accouchir, enfanter," &c.—Roquefort's *Glossaire de la Langue Romaine.*

[b] "Appatisser. Contraindre les habitans d'un pays à nourrir des troupes." *Roquefort.*

A statute for them that lette Laboures and men goinge to Plough

Also that no maner of man be so hardy to take fro no man going to the plough, harowe, or cart, hors, mare, nor oxe, nor non other beste longinge to labour within the Kinges obeysaunce without louing and bedinge, and grede the partye, upon payne of deathe; and also that no man geve none impedyment unto no man of labour, upon payen of empresonament unto the tyme he have made a fyne after the awarde of the Counstable and Marishall

For theim that geve men Reproche

Also that no maner man geve no reproche to non other by cause of the countrey that he is of, that is to saye, be he Frenche, Englisshe, Welshe, or Irisshe, or of any other countrey whens that ever he be, that no man saye no vilony to non other, throughe the whiche vilony saynge, may falle sodenly man slaughter, or risinye of people, all suche barvators shall stand at the Kinges wille what death they shall have for ther noys making

For theim that taketh Traytours and put theim to Raunsom

Also if any man take any enemye the whiche hathe ben shorne and had billet, or any man the whiche outhe ligeaunce unto our liege lord the Kinge, that is to witt, Englishe, Welsshe, Irishe, or any other, that as sone as he is comen in to the oste or elswher that he be brought into the warde of Counstable and Marishall upon payne to have the same death that the saide traytour or enemy sholde have, and he that any suche bryngeth in shall have an C. s. of the Kinge, Counstable, or Marishall, for his travell

For theim that breketh the Kinges Areste

Also that every man obey unto the Kinges sergauntes porters of place, or any other officers made by Counstable, Marishall, or by any other office's com'mssede, that no man be so hardy to breke the Kinges areste, upon payne to lose hors and harnes and his body at the Kinges wille, and if he mayne them or hurte to be dede therfor

For Bornynge

Also withouten comandement speciall of the Kinge that no man bourne upon payne of death

For Wache within Lodgings

Also both daye and nyght that every Capitayn have wache within his lodginge, upon payne his body to be arestede till he have made fyne and raunsom with the Kinge and at the Kinges wille

For theim that be wastours of Vitaill

Also if any man finde wyne or any other vitaille, that he take him self therof as muche as him nedes, and that he save the remenant to other of the oste, without any discencion, upon payne his hors and harneys to be areste till he have made fyne with the Counstable and Marishall

For a Copie to be had of the Premysses in the Oste

Also theis articles afor written the whiche that thinketh the Kinge be nedefull to be cryed in the oste, he wolde that the copie be geven to every lorde and governor of men in the forsaide oste, so that they may have playne knowlege and enforme ther men of ther forsaide ordenances and articles

For makinge Rodes

Also that no man make no rodes by day nor by nyght but by license and knowlege of the chefteyns of the warde, so that the chefteynes way knowe what way they drawe theim that they maye have soucour and helpe, and nede be, upon payne of theim that offendeth of their body and goodes at the Kinges wille

For Rodes

Also that no Capitayn of no warde graunte no rodes without license of our soveraigne lorde the Kinge

That no man disaray him in the Bataile for no scrie that cometh in the Oste

Also that for no tydinges, ne for no maner of scrye that may come in the oste, that no man move him in disaraye oute of the bataille if they ride, but by leve of the chefteyne of the bataille, upon payne that he that offendethe shalbe put fro his hors & harneys to the warde of the Counstable and Marshall unto the time that he have made his fyne with theym, and founde surtie that he shall no more offende; and more over, his body to stand at the Kinges wille

OTHER ORDENANCE MADE BY THERLE OF SHREUSBERY AND OF PERCHE LORDE OF MOUNTHERMER, AT HIS SIEGES IN MAYNE AND OTHER PLACES.[a]

For the Countre appatised[b]

First that no maner man of armes, ne archer, ne of what estate, condicon, or nacion, that ever he be, that they abide not, nor hold theim under the coloure of oure saide soveraigne lorde therle, but that their capitayn be in this p'sent assemble and company and they be mustred and mustre at all tymes that they be required; and also that they lodge theim under the standarde of ther capitayn and in suche lodging as is delyvered theim by the harbengers, upon payne of losynge hors, and harnes, and ther goodes; more over ther bodies at the Kinges will

For Foreyinge the said Countre appatised

Also that no man foraie in the countre appatised but if it be haye, ottes, rye, and other necessary vitailles, nor that no man geve unto his hors no wheate, nor to gader non but if it be only to make brede of; and if the said foraiers take any bestaill for ther sustenance that they take resonably, and to make no waste nor for to devoure nor destroye no vitailles, upon payne of losinge hors, and harness, and goodes, and ther bodies at the Kinges wille; and also that the saide forainours[c] take nor slee no great oxen ne no mylche keene, but smalle bestaill, and that they accorde with the p'tie upon the payne aforesaide

For theim that bye or selle Pylage in the saide Countrey, or take.

Also that no maner of man, souldiour, or marchaunt, using the warre, bye no pilage, nor take non within the grounde appatised, upon payne of deathe; and if so be that any man have any of the enymyes goodes whiche he will selle, that he bringe it in to the comon marchaunt market, and p'claime it by an officer of the marchalcey, or els of the market, upon payne the byer to be arested of the Marshall to the tyme he have made a fyne with the Counstable and Marshall, and to lose all his mony or golde that he hathe paide for the same pylage, and the seller to lose hors and harnys, and his bodye at the Kinges wille

[a] Collated with the additional MS. 5758. f. 209.

[b] See note [b], p. 38.

[c] Sic in both MSS.; query foraiuours.

For theim that destroyeth Vines and other Tres beringe frute

Also that no maner of man bete downe howsinge to borne, ne non apletres, peretres, nottres, ne no other tres beringe frute, nor that no man put no best into vynes, nor drawe up the stakes of the same vynes, for to destroye theim, upon payne to lose their saide beastes and theim self in warde unto the tyme that he have made a fyne withe the Counstable and Marishall for the defalte

For to bery Careyn and other Coropcions in seging

Also that every lorde, capitaynes, or governor of people, do compell ther ser'vnts and menye, to berye ther careyn and bowelles abowte ther lodginges and within earth, that no stynch be in ther lodginges wher thorough that any pestelence or mortalite myght fall within the oste, upon payne to make a mendes at the Kinges wille

For the takinge of Presoners of men Bulleted[a]

Also that no man take no presoner of that saide grounde patised, nor no man nor childe having bullet,[a] upon payne to lose hors and harnes and ther bodies at the Kinges wille

For dryving awaye the Bestaill oute of the Oste

Also that no souldiour of what estat soever he be, goo fro the oste with no bestaill, upon payne that he that is founde in defalte shalbe presoned and lose the saide bestaill, notwithstandinge what place soever he hath taken theim; and he that him taketh or aresteth shall have the half dele of the saide bestiall and the Kinge the other half, but it be so that he have leve of the Counstable and Marishall, of the whiche leve he shall have a billet under the Counstable signet and also that he p'sent up the nomber of the bestes which he dryveth

For to make Stakes ageyns a Bataill or Jorney

Also that every Capitayne doe compelle ther yogmen, every man in all haste, to make him a good substanciall stake of xj foote of length for certeyne tydinges that lordes have harde, and on payne to be punesshed as therto longeth

For making of Fagottes at siges for bolewerkes & diches

Also that every man make him a good substanciall fagott of xiij foote of length without leves ayens day next comynge upon payen of losing a monethes wages; and that as welle the marchantes whiche cometh unto the market, as other souldeours; and also that every capitain doe ley his fagottes aparte to that entent that it may

[a] Sic in both MSS.; query billet.

be sene whether he have his nomber of fagotes after the compayne the whiche he ledeth

For Holy Churche

Also that no man take from no hous of religion, ne non other place having saufgarde, no maner of goodes, ne vitaill, without accordinge and wille of the wardens of the same place, upon peyn to be arestede and at the Kinges wille of his life

That no man spek withe theim in the Castell or in the Towne after that they be charged

Also that no maner man be so hardy to speke with theim of the towne or of the castell from hens forthe upon payne to be chastised at my lordes wille

Ordinaunces for Foraiers in places dangerous

Also that no maner man goe for no forage but it be with a stale[a] the whiche shall fowrth twise a weke, that is to witte day and day upon peyne to be chastised at my lordes wille.

For Ladders

Also that every vij gentellmen, or men of armes, make theim a goode sufficiaunt ladder and a strong of xv rongs, and that it beredey betweixt this and day upon payne to be chastised at my Lordes wille

For Pavises

Also that every ij yomen make them a goode pavise of bordes or of p[a]p, in the beste maner they cane best devise, that on may hold it, whiles that other dothe shete, upon the payne &c

For theim that Sault or Renners to make theim boty

Also that all men make them boty, vij or v to gader, that alway iij of the vij, or ij of the v, be assigned to wayte, and not to dep'te from the standers, upon payne to lose all the wynynge that may be wonne by him as that day, or by the feliship of him, half to the Kinge, and half to him that accusethe him, and his bodey in p'sone at the Kinges wille; and that every capitayn geve by day all the names of his men as they be made in their botye, certifing by name whiche be those that shall abide withe the standerdes, and whiche shall doe ther avauntage

[a] Sic in both MSS.

For Wemen that usen Bordell the whiche lodge in the Oste

Also that no maner of man have, ne holde, and comon woman within his lodging, upon peyne of losing a monthes wages; and if any man fynde or may finde any comon woman lodginge, my saide lorde geveth him leve to take from her or theim all the mony that may be founde upon her or theim, and to take a stafe and dryve her oute of the oste and breke her arme.

Et sic finis

N° IX.

OBSERVATION ON ARMIES IN THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY, AND ON THE ARMOUR MENTIONED IN THIS VOLUME, BY DR. MEYRICK.

Nothing is more difficult then to ascertain the numbers of ancient armies. The efficient force being the cavalry, particularly the heavy horse, they were considered strong in proportion as this species of troops abounded, and therefore the old chroniclers often speak of the men-at-arms only when they wish to enumerate the combatants. Vaillant, in his History of France, vol. v. p. 179, says, "that in computing the numbers of an army every man-at-arms should be multiplied by three, as he had his squire to bear his lance, and his body squire." By this he evidently supposes each man-at-arms was a knight, which was by no means the case. In the time of Henry V^th^ every warrior in complete armour was a man-at-arms, the term therefore included both knights and esquires. The former had their valecti, who, from wearing long sword-like knives, were also termed coustillers or custrels, and their pages, the latter their servientes or serjeants, as at present captains in the army have their two batmen, subalterns but one, whose duty it is to wait on them, and fight in the ranks. Froissart, speaking of the French army at Poitiers, says, in one place, that there were "at least twenty thousand men-at-arms," and in another only "three thousand knights." Vaillant seems to be countenanced by another passage of this author, in which he says, "counting all sorts there were upwards of sixty thousand combatants." Yet we cannot reconcile this chronicler with himself if we suppose that by "men-at-arms," he invariably means the heavy cavalry only, as he informs us that this same French army was formed into three columns, each containing sixteen thousand men-at-arms, which enumeration gives twenty-eight thousand more than he had before included. These, therefore, must be regarded as the hobilars or light cavalry, for that they were horse soldiers is clear from there being a pennon to every two hundred and twenty-five, and a banner to every four hundred and fifty, which leaves twelve thousand or upwards for infantry. Now if of the twenty thousand heavy cavalry we reckon three thousand knights, with eleven thousand attendant esquires, which gives three or four to each, and six thousand independent esquires, we shall have three thousand coustillers, three thousand pages, and six thousand serjeants, making together twelve thousand, the number of infantry stated. A charter of Randle, third Earl of Chester, to his Barons,

compels them to bring into the field, for each knight's fee, one horse harnessed and two unharnessed; and Madox, in his History of the Exchequer, says that three saddles were requisite to make a knight: Vaillant is therefore borne out in his mode of calculation as far as knights are concerned. In the time of Henry IInd the knight was attended by his esquire and page; in that of Edward I^st^ he had four or five esquires, a coustiller, and page; and the particular instance of James Lord Audeley, at Poitiers, shews that the esquires fought near the person of their master. From the contracts between Henry V. and his subjects, which have been noticed in this work,[a] it appears that the knight was obliged to furnish six horses, which means, that besides himself he was to provide five other men mounted: and when the contract was made with an esquire he was to produce four, namely, himself and three hobilars. It is to be recollected that the cavalry consisted of men-at-arms, hobilars, and mounted archers, the infantry of bow-men, bill-men, and supernumeraries.

The MEN-AT-ARMS were in complete armour from head to foot, the appointments of the esquires differing from those of the knights merely in not being gilt. They seldom wore helmets in war, but had their faces protectcd by a moveable ventaille attached to their basinets. It was about this time that plumes of feathers or rather pennaches first came into fashion, being inserted into a socket on the apex, or charnel as it was called, of the basinet. The knights wore three feathers, the King's esquires two, and the other esquires one. The throat was protected by a hausse-col or gorget of plate, the arm-pits by palettes, and the hands by what the heralds term close gauntlets, which were unknown before the commencement of the fifteenth century. Over the armour was usually worn the jupon or emblazoned tunic, and in that case the military girdle, richly ornamented, was put on to keep it in its proper place. The weapons of a man-at-arms were a lance, sword, and dagger, and at his saddle-bow on one side a short sword, at the other a mace; for protection he had a shield. His horse was covered with a housing of chain mail, over which was a caparison charged with the arms of the rider; on his head was a chanfron, and between his ears the testiere.

The HOBILARS rode on small unarmed horses, wore a basinet without a ventaille, back, breast, and thigh pieces; they used a light lance and a sword.

The MOUNTED ARCHERS had a skull cap of plate or mail, covered with canvas, a hauberk of chain or a brigandine jacket, a sword and battle axe.

The BOW-MEN ON FOOT wore either large jackets of black cloth

[a] See APPENDIX, No. II.

lined with mail, or brigandines, and had the same caps and weapons as their mounted brethren.

The BILL-MEN had probably no other armour than salades on their heads and no other weapon than their bill and long knife.

The SUPERNUMERARIES had pikes, glaives, gisarmes, mauls, and axes, indifferently, but no kind of armour.

Henry had in his pay cross-bow-men, but none appear to have been at Agincourt.

Of the other terms relating to the clothing and arms of soldiers, mentioned in this work, Dr. Meyrick gives the following explanation.

The TUBES were a small kind of ordnance; hand fire-arms were not invented before the year 1430.

Six thousand BACINETS, implies as many men-at-arms. Flondelles appears to be a misprint for Rhondelles, the circular shields borne by such as were engaged at the engines and others, to protect them during their operations.

TAPPGETES.—This is a corruption of Trepget, itself a contraction of Trabuchs, called also Trebock, and Trabuchs. It was a machine invented by the French, and named Trois bouches, from discharging three stones from three mouths or boxes at the same time. For further information respecting it see the Glossary to the "Critical Inquiry into Ancient Armour."

AGUILLETTES.—In the time of Henry V. the fronts of the shoulders, a wound received in which renders a man hors de combat, were protected by circular plates called palettes, and these were attached by means of straps or points, as they were called, with tags or aguillettes at the end. The word here implies the whole fastening. The elbows were sometimes similarly protected. An illumination in Lydgate's Pilgrim, in the Harl. MS. in the Brit. Mus. marked 4826, exhibits the Earl of Salisbury with palettes, in which the aguillettes are very conspicuous.

SERPENTINES.—A species of ordnance. It was so denominated from its mouth being made to resemble that of a serpent, as the culverine [colubrina] was from the snake; and its diminutive the falconet, from the bird of prey so called, and others. The idea had been taken from the tubes for casting the Greek fire.

MALLETS and BILL-HOOKS.—These were the ordinary weapons of the infantry, and continued in use till the end of the reign of Henry VIIIth.

HELMET with a large splendid crest.—The crest was at this time only worn with the helmet, and the helmet solely at the tournament; the basinet having a visiere or baviere, as it was indifferently termed, being used in battle. So the previous accounts represent Henry with the crown on his basinet. Yet over his monument,

in Westminster Abbey, are his war-shield and saddle, with his tournament helmet; and so over that of the Black Prince, at Canterbury, are the war-shield and tournament helmet, surmounted by the knight's cap and crest. Henry the Fifth's shield is curious from the position of the straps for the arms, which, instead of being placed one above the other, are in the same horizontal line; and so the shield appears on the arm of one of the knights murdering Thomas à Becket, as painted in the sepulchral canopy of Henry IVth. at Canterbury. The shield and saddle of Henry Vth. are, there is every reason to believe, those which he wore at the BATTLE OF AGINCOURT.

VIRE—As the arrow was shot by the long-bow, so was the vire by the cross-bow. It was also termed verou, and appears from the following line of Guillaume le Breton, to have been barbed:—

Et nonnulla velut verubus dentata recuavis.

The viraton, another kind of arrow for the cross-bow, had its feathers put on diagonally, so as to spin round in the air.

POURPOINT—This was a garment worn sometimes under, sometimes above the armour. The gambeson and auketon having fallen into disuse, the pourpoint assumed their place in the time of Henry V. and became an under garment. It was so called from being stitched through with the threads knotted on the exterior, or, as it were, embroidered. When worn as armour itself it was furnished with sleeves.

QUARRELS.—Arrows for cross-bows were so called when their heads were quarre, square, or made with four projections.

HABIRION.—Haubergeon, a shirt of mail, kept from pressing on the chest, and thereby preventing respiration, by a breast-plate underneath.

N° X.

ORDER FOR WARRANT TO BE MADE TO THE TREASURER OF THE WARS, FOR PAYMENT OF THE WAGES OF JOHN POPHAM AND HIS RETINUE

[Cotton. MS. Cleop. F. iii. fo. 158.]

Soit fait garant au Tresorer des guerres p^r^ paier a Monsr Joh'n Popham gages p^r^ lui et x lanc' et xxx arch's pur le prim' quart' selonc leffect de lendent'e. Et parce q' le Roy ad ordonne le dit Joh'n et ses gentz de passer avant v's la ville de Hareflieu a demour'er sur la sauve garde de mesme la ville jusques a la venue du Roy illoeq's & destre a Suth'mpton p'st p^r^ passer et....faire sa moustre le xix jour de Marz proch' ven' Mande soit au dit Tresorer de paier au dit Joh'n pur lui et ses ditz gens pur xlij jours proch'....le dit xix jour de Marz Assavoir pur lui mesmes ijs et pur ch'un autre home d'armes xij*d*. & pur ch'un arch' vj*d* le jour. A mesme le jour de la moustre de leur faire paiem's par le second quart' selonc la contenue de lendent'e susdit.

Fait par assent & avis de Mess^s^. les Chanceller le Conte de Sarum le Gardein du prive seal et Monsr. Waut' Hungerford.

XI.

NOTICES OF HENRY THE FIFTH'S DECISIONS RELATIVE TO THE WAGES OF HIS SOLDIERS AFTER THEIR RETURN TO ENGLAND.

[Referred to in p. 166. From the Cottonian MS. Cleopatra F. iii, being the Privy Council Book of the period.]

Par'lement tenuz a Westm' le t'me de seint Michiel le susdit an second en quel parlement suppliez estoit au Roy n're dit s^{r} p^{r} touz les estatz et comune dicelle q' avant q' se ferroit aucune tielle viage lui plerroit a lonur & Rev'ence de dieu prim'ement envoier a ses Adv'-saires as queux il appartenoit pour eux requirer de lui faire droit & justice en ses demandes et com'ent a ycelle supplicac'on le Roy b'n g'ciousm't envoia depuis ses solempnez Ambassiatours a son Adv'saire de France lesqueux sont retournez sanz aucun exploit re-porter de lour Ambassiate. Jassoit que pur venir a bonne pais & accord & mettre fin a touz debatz questions & guerres d'entre les Roiaumes denglet're & de France n're dit s^{r} le Roy avoit offre a son dit Adv'-saire de lesser grande partie de ce q' a lui de droit en ce cas appartient. Et pour tant en defaute de ministracion de justice par la partie adv'se mesme n're s^{r} le Roy se propose daccomplir son viage empriant as ditz s^{rs} temporelx desus nomez q' comb'n q'en le susdit parlement plusieurs de eux aient offert a mesme n're s^{r} le Roy de lui faire s'vice en mesme le viage oves tielle retenue com'e il plerroit a n're dit s^{r} le roy limiter & assigner en p'reignant paiement assavoir pur le primer quart' au com'encement dicell & pur les second & tierz quart's ensuantz a la fin dicell second quart' &c. Nientmains pource q' les deniers g^{a}ntees a n're dit s^{r} le Roy co'me desus ne pur-ront estre si tost levees, viullent les ditz s^{rs} temporelx faire aise au Roy en ce cas & eux agreer de lour paiementz p'ndre cestassav' pur le primer quart' au commencement dicell pur le second quart' a la fin de mesme le second quart' pur le tierz quarter a la fin dicell tierz quart' & ensi de quart' en quart' a la fin de chu'n quart'. A quoy les ditz S^{rs} temporelx par bone delib'acion entre eux eue apart feurent agreez parensi q'uils purroient avoir seuretee sufficeant destre loiau-ment s'viz de tielx paiementz. Sur quoy le roy entierrement rem'cia les ditz s^{rs} temporelx & lour manda destre ycy mesardy proch' venant pur comuner de tielles seuretees come ils veullent desirer en ce cas

en leur promettant tielles seuretees com'e il poet a eux ottroier & faire.

Et a les S^rs espirituelx il rem'cia de ce quils lui avoient ottroie en leur dite Convocacion & eux pria de comuner ensemble de tiele aide comme ils lui purront faire bonement par voye dapprest pur le bon exploit & avancement du viage susdit outre ce quils lui avoient ottroie en ycelle leur Convocacion & dent faire report au Roy sicost come ils purront bonnement.

* * * * * * *

acontent par leur serementz et q' sibien eux come ceux qi furent mortz a la sege de Harflew & autres qi par maladie et autrement avoient especial licence du Roy a ret^rner eilloquez en Anglet're soient allouez p' le p'mer quart' des gagez & regardez especifiez en les en_ dentures parents le Roy & eux faitz comenceant toutes faiz le dit p^imer quart' le viij^e jo^r de Julette lan &c tiers.

Itm' q' ceux q' furent lessez en la ville de Harfleu po^r la salve garde dicelle acontent par le^r s'ementz jesq' al jour de leur entre en mesme la ville & delos' avaunt tanq' au fin du second quart' acontent par leur s'ment et par tesmoignance du Capitayne illeoques ou son leueten^ant et eient alouance par mesme le temps des gages & regardez en lez ditz endent'es expresses.

Et touchant le second quart' le Roy voet q' sib'n ceux qi furent mortz a la bataille de Aginc^urte come les autres qi viendrent ovesq' luy a Caleys eient allouance des gages & regard' susditz du comencement dicell second quart' jusques a oyt jour apres larrivaille du Roy en port de Dovorr.

Et q^ant a ceux qi sur leur passage en port de Sutht' furent countremandez par n're s^r le Roy il voet quils aient allouance q' ceux de lo' retenue q' passerent ovesq' le Roy as partiez par dela en lez maner & fourme dessus declares; mes nounpas par ceux qi demoierent en Englet're. Et ne voet my n're dit s^r le Roy q' ceux qi par defaute deskyppeson sur leur passage remanerent en Englet're aient aucun allouance.

Prim'ement soit declare si les gages &c. pur le primer quart' com'enceront le primer jour de juill lan tierz ou aut'ment le jour de la fesance de moustres.—R^o. R'—Com'enceront les gages et regardz p^r le primer q^art' le vüj jour de juill.

Item si pour ycell prim' quarter les vacatz des moriantz & aussi de ceux qui avoient licence par infirmitee, & aut'ment a retournir en Englet're serront allouez ou noun.

R^o—Le Roy voet quils aient allouance p^r le prim' quart' par s'ment des accountantz.

Item si les acountantz pur mesme le prim' quarter tant pur ceux

qi sont en vie com'e pur ceux qi sont mortz av'ont allouance par lour serementz ou en quelle outre mani'e.

R°—le Roy voet q' le prim' quart' fait allouez as vivantz et moriantz par serementz des acontantz.

Item, si ceux qi feurent lessez sur la sauve garde de la ville de Hareflieu du temps de leur entree en icelle av'ont allouance des gages et regardz exp'ssez en les endent'es &c. ou aut'ment de sengles gages tant soulem't, et auxi si tiele allouance serra faite par lor serementz ou par tesmoignance du Capetein illoeques ou de son lieuten'.

Aient allouance assav' du jour de lor departir denglet're tanq' a lor entree en la ville de Hareflieu par lor s'em'tz et delors tanq' au fin du second quart' par lor s'mentz et par tesmoign' du Capetein illoeq's ou son lieuten' des gages & regardz, exp'ssez en les endente's, &c.

Item, si les acountantz pour les occis en la bataille de Agencourt serront pur eux allouez &c. pour lentier second quart' ou tanq' au jour de leur trespassement'—Soient allouez come les autres qi sont en vie.

Item, si ceux qi descenderent ovesq' le Roy n're sov'ein Sr a Caleys serront allouez pur le dit entier second quarter ou out'ment par oyt jours ap's la reskipeson a eux illoeques deliv'ee selonc la contenue des endentures, &c.

Soient allouez pur oyt jours ap's larrivaill du Roy a Dovorre.

Item faulte estre declare quelle allouance av'ont ceux qi feurent ps'tz pour passer en-dit viage et pour defaute deskipeson remaindrent in Englet're.

Le roy ne le voet.

Et poiement sil plest a n're dit souv'ein Sr le Roy....Monsr. Wauter Hungerford estre receuz a son aconte pur le dit viage et avoir allouance par son serement & si lordre de tiel aconte seroit trouve bon & expedient pur le Roy; delors si lui plest purra sem'ble ordre estre observez quant as autres acountantz pur mesme le viage.

Et est aussi assavoir coment serra fait de ceulx qi sur leur passage feurent par n're dit sov'ein Sr le Roy de certeine science contremandez.

R°—Soit alouance faite pr ceulx de leur retenues qi passerent oves le Roy.

Samady le vj jour de Mars lan, &c. tierv le Roy mesmes en sa secree Chambre deinz sa Tour de Londres lia cestes articles deinz escritz p'ns alors messr's lercevesq' de Canterbirs le Tresorer denglet're le Gardein du prive seal & Mons' Waut' Hung'ford, asqueux articles le Roy adonques declara sa voluntee en la man'e susdit.

XII.

WARRANT TO THE TREASURER AND BARONS OF THE EXCHEQUER TO ACCOUNT WITH THOSE WHO HAD ACCOMPANIED HENRY V. TO FRANCE.

[Cotton. MS. Cleop. F. iii. p. 159.]

Henry, &c. as Tresorer, & Barons, & Chamb'leins de n're Eschequier, salutz. Nous vous mandons q' ovesq' ceux qi par endent'es et autrement furent retenuz dev's nous p^r^ un an a cause de n're viage nadgairs fait as partiez de France acontez duement par lour s'ementz de & sur toutz & chescuns coven'ntz expressez en ditz endent'es et de nous diners par eux rescieux si bien en moneyne contant p^r^ le prim' quartier come en joialx p^r^ le seconde quartier du dit an fesantz a eux come le cas requiert alouance p^r^ mesmes lez prim' et seconde quarters del an des gages & regardez en ycelles endent'es especifiez selonc la forme & contenue de les articles quex vous envoions closes deinz cestes voiantz tousfaitz q' nous soioms duement responduz de les prison's preies gaignez de guerre et dautres choses dount par force des ditz endent'es ils sount tenuz a nous respond'r. Et si par les acontz sudeitz trouve soit q' ascuns des ditz personez remaignent en n're dette lour fatez a restituer nos ditz joialx de tiel dette nous satisfier come reason demande et as auters qi par leur acontz av'ont aucuns surplusages vous av'nditz Tresorer et Chaumb'leyns en fates avoir paiement ou resonable agreement en receivant de eux nos joialx dev's eux remaignauntz. Don, &c. le ix jour de Mars lan, &c. quart'.

Memor' de t'mi'o sci' Hillar' anno quarto. Ro. xxxiii.

NOTICES OF PLATE, &c. PAWNED AS SECURITY FOR WAGES.

Inter communia de t'm'io Trin. Aº 4. Hen. V., r. 4, on the Lord Treasurer's Remembrancer's side.

Wiltes.—Datus est dies p' Baron' Walt'o Beauchamp militi p'senti hic in cur' in propria persona sua usq' a die sci' Mich'is in xv dies ad respond' Regi de uno cipho auri cu' armis de Naveru' garnit' supª de ix parvis baleys iij parris saphiers et xxx perles ponder' xxvij unc' di' p'e' unc' xxvjˢ viijᵈ l. paxbred auri annelat' de blod' cu' una ymagine be' marie alb' ponder' x unc' di' per ip'm recept' per indenturam de Ric'o Courtenay Ep'o Norwyci et Thes' Cam'e Reg' ac custode jocaliu' Reg' pro securitate liiijˡˡ. vijˢ ix.d vel ad ostend' quare inde Regi respondere non deb' sicut cont' in rotlo' comp' in compoto videl't ip'ius Walt' Beauchamp milit' computant' tam de denar' per ip'm recept' qªm vad' suis et triu' hoi'm ad arma et xij sagittar' unacu' regardo consueto eorundem ho'im ad arma juxta afferentiam C m'rc pro xxx hominibz ad arma per quart'iu' anni retent' penes d'nm Regem ad profiscend in quodam viagio Reg' v'sus partes Franc' anno regni sui finiendo et unde retorn' in C's'tino Sci' Joh'is Bap'te.

After several continuances from day to day, the Sheriff of the County was commanded to distrain his lands for the value of the jewels.

Br'ia retorn' de t'm'io Pasch. 5. Hen. V. ro. 2.

Wiltes.—Rex vic' salt'm precipim' tibi quod non omit', &c. distring' Joh'em Blaket militem per t'ras, &c. Ita, &c. in c'stino sci' Mich'is ad reddend' nob' compotum de una magna olla de lagena operat' debrus cum una olla poteller' vet' de argento operat' pond' xˡᵇ. ij unc' pr' lb. xxxij*s*. uno cipho argenti operat' cum uno albo exell' super' sum'itatem pond' de troye iij lb. vij unc' pr' lb. xlvj*s*. viij d. per ip'm recept' per indenturam de Rico' Courtenay, Epo' Norwic' et Thes' Cam'e n're ac custode jocaliu' n'rorum pro securitate xxvij. li. iij*s*. x *d*. unde nondu' comput' T. &c. per rot'lm' compot' in compo' videlt' Joh'is Blaket nunc milit' comput' tam de denar' per ip'm recept' qªm de vadiis suis unius hoi's ad arma et vj sagittar' unacum regardo consueto eorundem ho'ium ad arma juxta afferenciam C m'rc pro xxx hoi'b' ad arma per quart'iu' anni profectur' in quodam viagio Reg' v'sus partes Franc' anno regni sui t'cio fiendo.

N° XIII.

PETITION OF THE DUKE OF GLOUCESTER AND THE EARL OF SALISBURY, IN THE PARLIAMENT HOLDEN AT WESTMINSTER IN THE QUINDIES OF ST. MICHAEL Aº. 6. HEN. VI. AS TO THE WAGES OF THEIR RETINUES WHICH SERVED AT HARFLEUR AND AGINCOURT.

[Referred to in p. 164. From the Rolls of Parliament, vol. iv. p. 320-321.]

AU Roi n're soverain Sr', Supplient humblement Humfrey Duk de Gloucestr', & Thomas Count de Sarisbirs, q' come ils nadgairs feurent severalment retenuz, ovesq; le tres noble Roi Henry v're Pier, q' Dieu assoille, as diverses temps de passier ove sa tres noble persone en son Roialme de Fraunce, ove certeins nombres des gentz d'armes & d'archiers. Et en especiall le VIII jour de Juyll, l'an de son reigne tierce, a quel temps ils avoient severalment lour Gages, pur le primer quarter del dit retenue. Et pur suerte de paiement de le secounde quarter de lour retenue, ils avoient severalment du dit nadgairs Roi, & p' son commaundement, le primer jour de Juyn adonqes proschein ensuant, diverses Joialx en plegge pur lour severalx Guages de mesme le quarter, a restorier les ditz Joialx a v're dit tres noble Pier, a quel hoeur q'il eux voudroit acquiter, deins un an & di', & un moys, apres la resceipt de mesmez les Joialx. Et aultrement, q' bien lirroit a eux & autres, as queux les ditz Joialx p' les ditz Suppliantz deviendrent, disposier apres la fyn du dit moys pur yceux Joialx a lour plesier, saunz empechement de v're dit Pere, ou de ses Heirs: deins quel secunde quarter, & apres la Bataill d'Agyncourt, v're dit tres noble Pier ove diverses de son retenue, & de la retenue des ditz Suppliantz, retourna en son Roialme d'Engleterre, c'est assavoir xlviii jours devaunt le fyn de mesme le quarter; a cause de quel, les Officers de v're Eschequir, pretendent de rebater les Guages de les ditz Suppliantz, & de lour Soudiours severalment pur les ditz xlviii jours; nient obstant q' les ditz Suppliantz avoient severalmentz paiez lour Soudiers pur l'entier Guages du dit secunde quarter, & q'ils feurent prestes adonqes d'avoir demurre en la Roialme de Fraunce, solonc l'effect de lour retenue. Et coment q' pur les ditz retenues, diverses notables sommes sount unqore aderers, & several-

ment duez as ditz Suppliantz, sib'n de le secunde quarter, come d'autres temps, outre la value des ditz Joialx, & outre les paiementz & prestez, & tierces, & tierce de tierce, & autres gaignes de Guere p' les ditz Suppliantz, & p' lours Soudiers severalment pris, resceux & gaignes, durantz les Gueres en les parties de Fraunce, processe est fait & sue severalment envers les ditz Suppliantz, hors de v're dit Eschequir, pur eux severalment faire & rendre accompt & respoundre, sib'n de les ditz Joialx, & de lour retenu, & paiementz & apprestez, come de tierces, & tierce de tierce suisditz, gaignez p' les ditz Suppliantz & lours Soudiers, durantz les Gueres suisditz; p' ount mesmez les Suppliantz, & checun d'eux, sont graundement vexes, chargez & en graundes issues mys & retornes severalment en v're dit Eschequir, a lour tres graunde severall perde & damage, s'ils n'eient v're tres gracious favour en cell' partie. Please a v're tres gracious S'rie de considerer les premisses, & q'ils sont plusours notables sommes severalment duez as ditz Suppliantz pur lour gages de Guere, outre la value des ditz Joialx, & de toutz les resceiptes & paiementz, apprestez & autres gaignes suisditz. Et sur ceo, p' advys & assent de les Seign'rs Espirituelx & Temporelx, & la Communalte de v're Roialme en cest present Parlement assemblez, de grauntier, ordeiner & establier, p' auctorite de mesme le Parlement, q' les ditz Suppliantz & chescun d'eux, lour Heirs, Executours & Terre Tenauntz, soient quitez & outrement dischargez, envers vous, tres soverain S'r, & voz heirs, de toutz maners des Joialx p' eux, ou p' ascun d'eux, pur ascun cause suisdit prisez, oeuez & rescuex; & de toutz maners apprestez, receites, regardes & paiementz, & de les tierces, & tierce de tierce, & de toutz autres gaignes de Cuere, p' eux severalment pris, oeuez & rescuex, & de la value d'icelles; & de toutz chosez, maters & causes, q' purront cheiere ou evenir en charge as ditz Suppliantz; ou a ascun d'eux, pur ascun cause, matier ou retenu avaunditz. Et q' les ditz Suppliantz, & chescun d'eux, lour Heirs, Executours & Terre Tenauntz, de cest jour en avaunt, soient & soit ent dischargez & discharge, de chescun maner d'accompt, & de chescun action d'accomp', detenu, & autre action q'conq'; & de tout ceo q' a Vous poet estre ajugge pur ascun matier ou cause suisdit; ceo q' expresse mention n'est mye fait en ycell Petition, de la quantite des ditz Joialx, ne de la value d'icelles, ne de les guages de Guere, ne de les apprestes, resceites, regardes, ne paiementz, ne tierces, ne tierce de tierce, ne ascuns specialx ou generalx gaignez de Guere suisditz; ne ceo q' expresse mention n'est fait en la dit Petition, de la temps de la retenu des ditz Suppliantz, ne de null d'eux, ne comeb'n les ditz Suppliantz ont, avoient, ou ascun d'eux ad ou avoit, del donne ou graunt de Vous, tres soverain S'r, ou ascun de voz Progenitours Rois d'Engleterre, ou ascun de voz Auncestres; ne ceo q' expresse

mencion n'est mye fait en ycell Petition, de la nombre de les Soudiers retenuz ovesq; les ditz Suppliantz, ou ascun d'eux, pur les Gueres suisditz; ou ascun Estatut ou Ordinaunce fait a contrarie, nient obstant. Et ceo pur Dieu, & en oevre de Charitee.

Cujus responsio sequitur in hec verba.

MEMORAND', quod ista Petitio lecta fuit in presenti Parliamento, coram Dominis Spiritualibus & Temporalibus in eodem existentibus, & habita inde deliberatione matura, ac motivis & causis in eadem contentis diligenter attentis; consideratis etiam non nullis eximiis & fructuosis obsequiis, Domino H. nuper Regi Anglie, Patri Domini Regis nunc, per illustrem & prepotentem Principem Dominum Humfridum Ducem Gloucestr', ipsius Domini Regis nunc Avunculum carissimum infrascriptum, ad suos grandes Custus & Expensas, in partibus exteris, presertim in Regno Franc' & Ducatu Norman', multipliciter impensis, tam in Obsidione & conquestu Ville sue de Harefleu, quam in felici bello suo de Agyncourt; attento preterea, quod postmodum per ipsius Ducis laudabilia labores & obsequia, Villa & Castrum de Chirburgh, ac Triginta & Duo Castra, Ville firmate, & Fortalicia in partibus predictis victoriose conquesta, ad prefati nuper Regis obedientiam & ligeantiam deducta fuerunt. Quodque idem nuper Rex, in ultimo suo transitu versus partes predictas, prefatum Ducem ad procedend' versus easdem partes, cum Centum Lanceis ac Sagittariis eisdem pertinentibus, retinuit & assignavit. Et licet idem Dux, cum retinentia sua hujusmodi, Quatuor vel Sex Lanceis ad magis exceptis, quas propter temporis brevitatem plenarie providere non potuit, ad partes illas transierit, prefatus tamen nuper Rex aliqua Vadia seu Regarda prefato Duci pro se, aut retinentia sua predicta, a tempore retentionis predicte, non nisi a tempore quo idem Dux ad Villam de Dreux, ubi integrum & totalem numerum dictarum Centum Lancearum cum Arcubus monstravit, allocari permisit, in ipsius Ducis dispendium satis grave; attentis similiter, & consideratis indefessis laboribus, notoriis & prestantissimis Servitiis, nedum prefato Domino nostro Regi nunc, set etiam dicto suo Patri Henrico nuper Regi, per nobilem & strenuum Dominum Thomam Comitem Sarum, ejusdem Domini nostri Regis nunc Consanguineum carissimum, in ipsorum Regum Guerrarum turbinibus in dictis partibus exteris, per annos plurimos, tam maturitate Consilii, quam Armorum strenuitate, non absque permaximo persone sue periculo, suis etiam excessivis Custubus & Expensis, tam in Villis de Cravat' & de Vernaud' quam alias multipliciter exhibit' & impensis: & ad effectum quod idem Comes, ad sua hujusmodi fructuosa obsequia, eidem Domino Regi nunc, in partibus illis de cetero impendend', eo ferventius annuetur & excitetur, quo favore largiori se sencerit confoveri. Do-

minus Rex, de assensu Dominorum Spiritualium & Temporalium, ac Communitatis Regni Anglie, in presenti Parliamento existen', auctoritate Parliamenti predicti, concessit, ordinavit & statuit, quod predicti Dux et Comes, & uterque eorum, ac eorum Heredes, Executores & Terrarum Tenentes, quieti sint & totaliter exonerati, erga dictum Dominum Regem nunc, & Heredes suos, de omnimodis Jocalibus per ipsos, vel eorum alterum, pro aliqua causa in Petitione predicta contenta, captis, habitis & receptis: & de omnimodis prestationibus, receptionibus, regardis & solutionibus, ac tertiis, & tertiarum tertiis; & de omnibus aliis lucris guerre, per ipsos separatim captis, habitis & receptia, & de valore eorumdem, & de omnibus aliis Rebus, materiis & causis, que cadere vel evenire possunt in onerationem predictorum Ducis & Comitis, seu alterius eorum, pro aliqua causa, materia seu retinentia, in Petitione predicta specificat'. Et quod iidem Dux & Comes, & uterque eorum, ac eorum Heredes, Executores & Terrarum Tenentes, de cetero sint & sit, quieti & quietus, de omnimodo Compoto, & de quacumque actione Compoti detentionis, & alterius actionis cujuscumque: & de omni eo quod ad prefatum Dominum Regem adjudicari poterit, pro aliqua Materia seu Causa supradicta; eo quod expressa mentio de quantitate dictorum Jocalium, nec de valore eorumdem, nec de vadiis guerrarum, nec de prestationibus, receptionibus, regardis, solutionibus, nec tertiis, nec tertiarum tertiis, nec de aliquibus specialibus seu generalibus perquisionibus guerrarum predictis, nec de tempore retinentie predictorum Ducis & Comitis, nec eorum alterius, nec de concessionibus sive Donis prefatis Duci & Comiti, vel eorum alteri, p' prefatum Dominum Regem, vel aliquem Progenitorum suorum Regum Anglie, seu aliquem Antecessorum suorum factis, nec de numero Soldariorum cum prefatis Duce & Comite, vel eorum altero, pro guerris predictis retentorum, in Petitione predicta facta non existit, aut aliquo Statuto vel Ordinatione in contrarium fact', non obstant'. Ita semper, quod prefatus Dux pro se, ac predictus Comes pro se, omnia & singula debita, que utriq; eorum, per prefatum nuper Regem, aut Executores suos, occasione hujusmodi guerrarum, seu retinentie cum dicto nuper Rege in hujusmodi guerris pro tempore ejusdem nuper Regis debentur, prefato nuper Regi, ac Executoribus ejusdem, & etiam predicto Domino nostro Regi nunc, remittant & relaxent. Et insuper, si idem Dominus noster Rex, infra Tres Annos prox' post finem hujus Parliamenti, solvat seu solvi fac', prefato Duci, vel Executoribus suis, aut dicto Comiti, vel Executoribus suis, omnes & singulas Pecuniarum Summas, pro quibus Jocalia predicta, eisdem Duci & Comiti, vel eorum alteri, occasionibus in Petitione predicta specificatis, invadiata fuerunt; ac etiam eis & eorum alteri satisfac', de Summis, Custubus & Expensis, per ipsos Ducem & Comitem, vel eorum alterum, pro reparatione & emenda-

tione eorumdem Jocalium appositis & expensis, prout iidem Dux & Comes, vel eorum alter, per Sacramentum suum, vel sui sufficientis Deputati in hac parte velint & possunt veraciter affirmare; tunc uterque predictorum Ducis & Comitis, omnia & singula Jocalia sibi ut prefertur invadiata, & in custodia sua ad presens remanentia & existen', eidem Domino nostro Regi reddere & deliberare teneatur. Proviso semper, quod colore presentis Acti, prejudicium aliquod Soldariis ipsorum Ducis & Comitis, vel eorum alterius, nullatenus generetur, quodque hujusmodi Concessio de cetero non trahatur in exemplum.

N° XIV.

DAVID GAMME.

[Referred to in p. 168.]

Dr. Meyrick says, "Davydd gam, *i. e.* Squint-eyed David, was a native of Brecknockshire, and holding his land of the honor of Hereford, was a strenuous supporter of the Lancastrian interests. He was the son of Llewelyn, descended from Einion Sais, who possessed a handsome property in the parishes of Garthbrengy and Llanddew. In consequence of an affray in the High Street of Brecknock, in which he unfortunately killed his kinsman, he was compelled to fly into England to avoid a threatened prosecution, and became the implacable enemy of Owain Glyndwr, whom he attempted to assassinate. Gam, it may be supposed, was his nickname, as he called himself David Llewelyn, and there are good grounds for supposing that Shakespeare has caricatured him in Captain Fluellin; his descendants, however, conceiving that his prowess more than redeemed his natural defect, took the name of Game. Sir Walter Raleigh has an eulogium upon his bravery and exploits in the field of Agincourt, in which he compares him to Hannibal. He was knighted on the field, with his two companions in glory and death, Sir Roger Vaughan, of Bedwardine, in Herefordshire, and Sir Walter, or rather Watkin Llwyd, of the lordship of Brecknock. Sir Roger had married Gwladis, the daughter of Sir David Gam, who survived him, and became the wife of another hero of Agincourt, Sir William Thomas, of Raglan, and Sir Watkin was, by his marriage, related to Sir Roger."

N° XV.

NAMES OF PERSONS ENTITLED TO THE RANSOMS OF FRENCH PRISONERS, BETWEEN THE 3rd. HEN. V. 1415, AND THE 8th. HEN. VI. 1430.

[Referred to in p. 177. From Carte's Calendar to the Norman Rolls, vol. ii. p. 226 to p. 292.]

Though all the prisoners noticed on the Norman Rolls between 1415 and 1430, may not have been taken at Agincourt, it is certain that the greater part fell into the hands of the English in that battle; hence most of the persons mentioned in the following list may be presumed to have been present on that occasion.

Those thus marked * are either mentioned in the Roll of Arms, or are known from other evidence to have been in the battle. Those thus † marked contracted to serve in the expedition.

A°. 4 Hen. V. 1416, 1417.

* Edmund, Earl of March, two prisoners.
* Thomas, Duke of Clarence.
* Richard, Earl of Oxford.
* Earl of Salisbury.
* Sir Walter Hungerford, Knt. five prisoners.
* Sir Edward Courtenay, Knt.

Sir Richard Redman, Knt. three prisoners.

Sir Bryan Stapelton, Knt. eight prisoners.

* Sir John Edmond, Knt.

Sir John Blount, Knt. two prisoners.

* Sir John Grey, Knt.
* Sir Gilbert Umfreville, two prisoners.
* Richard Maydeston.

Nicholas Merbury, Esq. two prisoners.

* William Rokel, Esq. three prisoners.

William Hunter.

Thomas Worth, Esq.

Thomas Uvedaie, Esq.

* Robert Wyfeld.
* Thomas Wenlok, Esq. four prisoners: he was a knight in the 7th Hen. V.

John Crosse.
Thomas Kendale, four prisoners.
Thomas Whyte.
* William Fraunceys, Esq.
David Dunbury.
John Halebot, valet of the Duke of Bedford.
Hugh Downyng.
Nicholas Basset.
* John Aylward, two prisoners.
John Salvayn, Esq.
Walter Aslaket.

A°. 6 Hen. V. 1418-1419.

John Wylde.
Richard Philips.
* Sir William Phelippe, Knt.

A°. 7 Hen. V. 1419-20.

* Sir John Savage, Knt.
John Halstede.
Thomas Tanworth.
John Norreys, Esq. three prisoners.
John Hartlet.
John Kilyngham,

A°. 8 Hen. V. 1420-1421.

Thomas Payne.

A°. 1 Hen. VI. 1422-1423.

Sir William Bowes, Knt.
* Sir William Meryng, Knt.: he was only an Esquire in 1415.
* Christopher de Preston, four prisoners.
* John Burton of Bristol, two prisoners.
Robert Scot, Esq. two prisoners.
* William Burgoigne.

A°. 2 Hen. VI. 1423-1424.

* Nicholas Thorley.
John Langley of Bristol, merchant.
John Hertewell, citizen of London.

A°. 5 Hen. VI. 1426-1427.

William de Ford.
William Warbleston, Esq. two prisoners.

A°. 8 Hen. VI. 1429-1430.

William Scot.

No. XVI.

LETTER FROM THE PEERS OF ENGLAND, SIGNIFYING THEIR READINESS TO ACCOMPANY HENRY THE FIFTH IN HIS EXPEDITION INTO FRANCE, IN APRIL, 1415.

[Referred to in p. 14. From the Cottonian MS. Cleopatra, F. iii.]

Opon * * * gracious lige Lord and Kyng have liked to yeue oure Lordes youre brethren to alle oure Lordes spirituel and temporel us youre trewe and humble liges the Knyghtes of your noble Roiaume here present and gadred by youre real comandement as ye oure noble and right wyse Lord and Kyng have in youre chivalrous herte and desir determined to stere and laboure in recoverie and reintegrac'on of the olde rightes of youre corone as wel as for youre right wys heritage lige Lord desyryng opon this knyghtfull entente and purpos to have the good and hye avis trewe menyngge and avis of us youre trewe Knyghtes and humble liges forsaid. Whider oure lige Lord most bihoveful to drawe to the entent and desir above.....mined. Where opon oure sov'en Lorde as wel oure Lordes as we have comuned by youre hye comaundement in these materes and knowen wel among us alle. Wich oure to so cristen a Prince that ye wolde in so hye a matere bigynne nothinge but that were to goddes plesance and to eschue the shedyng of cresten bloode and that yf algate ye sholde do hit that denyyng of ryght and reson were cause of oure than wilfulhede. Wherefore oure soverein and gracious lige Lord it thynkes as wel oure Lordes as to us in our herte in .....oon opinion that it were spedefull to sende suche ambassiatoures to ev'ry p'tie as nesse and claym requerith suffissantly instruct for the right and recoverye of that is above said. And if ye oure sov'ein Lorde at the rev'ence of god like of youre propre mocion with oure conseil yevyng ther too eny mene wey an offre that were moderyng of youre hoole title or of eny of youre claymes beyond the see and opon youre adv'se partie denyyng you bothe right and reson and alle resonable mene weyes. We tousten alle in goddes grace that alle youre workes in pursuyng hem shall take the better spede and conclusion and in the mene while that alle the werks of redynesse that may be to

youre viage thought or wrought that hit be doo by the hye avis of you and of youre noble conseil Sey that the seuretee of youre real estat, the pees of youre lond, the sauf warde of alle youre be wel and suffissently purveied above alle things. And these observed we shul be redy with oure bodyes to do you the service that we may to oure powers as fer as we oughte of ryght, and as oure auncestres have doo to youre noble progenitours en cas semblable.

No. XVII.

A LETTER TO SIR JOHN PELHAM, KNIGHT, FROM JOHN CHENEY, ESQUIRE, DATED AT SOUTHAMPTON, 12th JULY, 1415, IMMEDIATELY BEFORE HE SAILED WITH THE EXPEDITION.

[Referred to in p. 577. From Collins' Peerage, Ed. 1779, vol. viii. p. 107.]

"Rizt worschipfull and worthy Sir, y recomande me to zow with all myn hoole herte thankyng zow of the greet kyndenesses and gentillesses, that ze hav schewed me er this tyme withoute deserte, praying zow evere of good continuance; and liketh hit zow to witte, that the Kyng and all the Lordes beyng here faain wel y blessed be God. And as touching to the good spede of my Lord of Huntyngdon now last atte see, the berer hireof schall declare hit than by mowth more pleinly than I can writte hit atte this tyme. Fermore rizt worschipful and worthy Sir, liketh hit zow to witte that I ame hiere, and have been atte greet costages and dispens; wherefore me nedeth to cheviche me of a certain notable somme er I go and y fer from myn hows, and from oother frendes of myne, save oonly zow worthy Sir, haveng full hope and trust in zowr gracious and gentil persone, to help and socoure me atte this tyme in my most necessite, to lend me some notable somme of gold, like as the bringer of this, Thomas Garnetier my servaunt, schal trewly declare zow myn herte and my governal in this cas, to hom I pray zow zeve ful belevyng to, and what day of paiement azen with reasonnable seuite, as ze zourself woll desire, I wot holde me agreed, and ze trewly schal be served azen as good reson and conscience asketh, leve I, deye I, by God's grace, and that hit liketh zow of zowr gentillesse, to take this matere to herte in conservans of my simple degre, and as myn hoole trust is souverainly in zow, passing every man in this contree. And for most suite to zow I sende zowe by this same man certein thynges of meyne, ze to have the rewle and governaunce thereof, 'till ze be seur of zour paiement. Rizt worschipful and worthy Sir, zif ther be any service that hit like zow to commande me to do for zow, and I with all my power woll be ready to performee, praying the holy Trinite send zow honeur, prosperite and joye. Written in haste atte Hampton, the 12th day of Juylly.

Zours atte zour
Commandement,
JOHN CHEYNE."

No. XVIII.

A SONG SUPPOSED TO HAVE BEEN ONE OF THOSE SUNG IN THE PAGEANT PREPARED IN HONOR OF HENRY'S RETURN TO LONDON, IN NOVEMBER, 1415.

[Referred to in p. 151. From Percy's Reliques of Ancient Poetry.]

Deo gratias Anglia redde pro victoria!
Owre Kynge went forth to Normandy,
With grace and myght of chivalry;
The God for hym wrought marvelously,
Wherefore Englonde may calle, and cry
Deo gratias, &c.

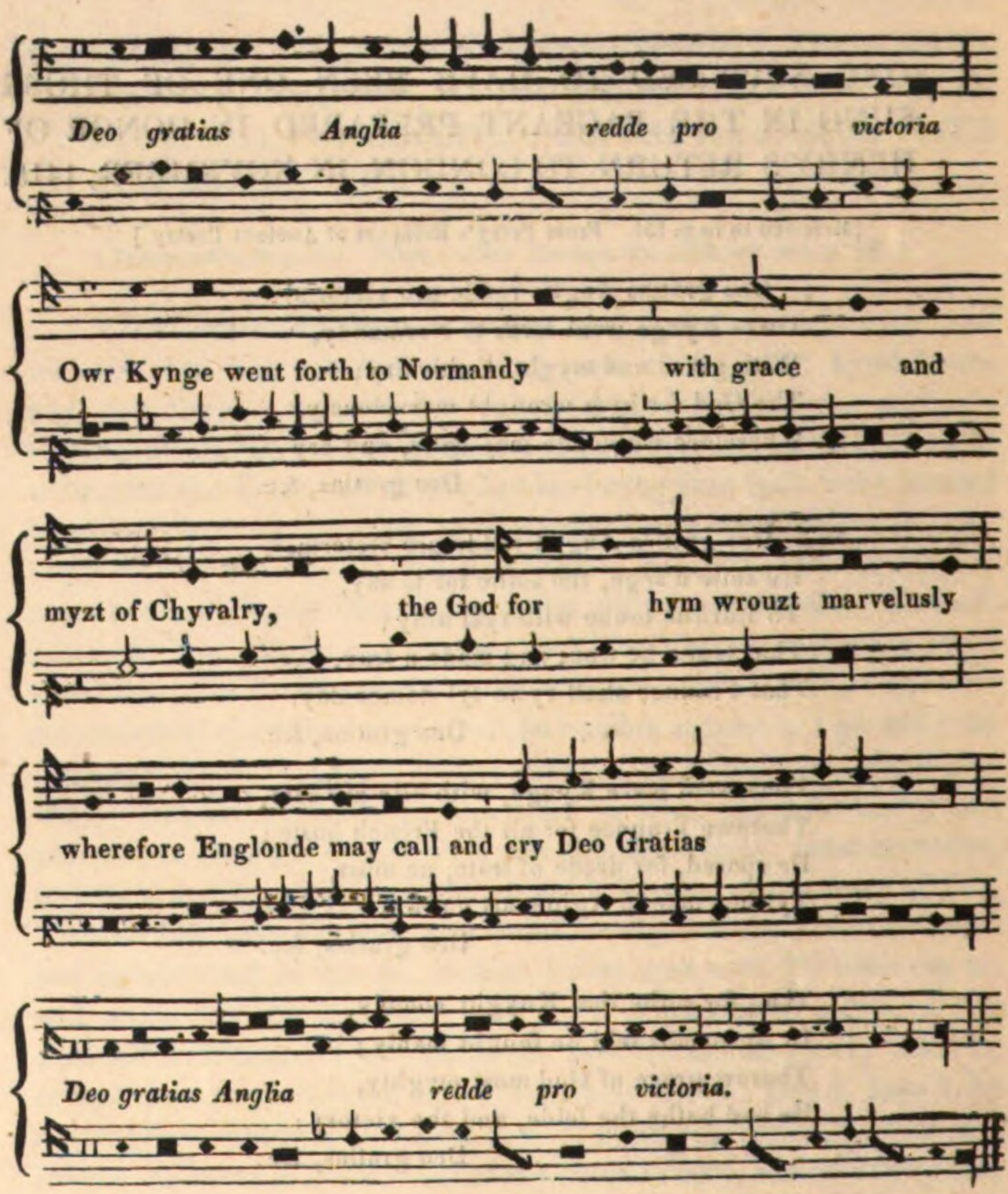
Deo gratias Anglia redde pro victoria.
He sette a sege, the sothe for to say,
To Harflue toune with ryal aray;
That toune he wan, and made a fray,
That Fraunce shall rywe tyl domes day.
Deo gratias, &c.

Then went owre Kynge, with alle his oste,
Thorowe Fraunce for all the French boste;
He spared, for drede of leste, ne most,
Tyl he come to Agincourt coste.
Deo gratias, &c.

Than for sothe that Knyght comely,
In Agincourt feld he faught manly;
Thorow grace of God most myghty,
He had bothe the felde, and the victory:
Deo gratias, &c.

Ther Dukys, and Erlys, Lorde, and Barone,
Were take, and slayne, and that wel sone,
And some were ledde in to Lundone
With joye, and merthe, and grete renone.
Deo gratias, &c.

Now gracious God, he save oure Kynge,
His peple, and all his well wyllynge,
Gef him gode lyfe, and gode endynge,
That we with mirth mowe savely synge,
Deo gratias:
Deo gratias Anglia redde pro victoria.


Deo gratias Anglia redde pro victoria
Owr Kynge went forth to Normandy with grace and
myzt of Chyvalry, the God for hym wrouzt marvelusly
wherefore Englonde may call and cry Deo Gratias
Deo gratias Anglia redde pro victoria.

No. XIX.

"THE BATAYLL OF EGYNE COURT, AND THE GREAT SEGE OF RONE. IMP. BY JOHN SKOT."

A quarto black letter tract, bearing the above title, and consisting of six leaves, is mentioned by Warton, Dibdin, and other writers, as being one of the rarest of Bibliographical curiosities. It is without a date, and the copy of which the following is a literal transcript, is preserved in the Bodleian Library. The poem is in fact merely another, though a very different, version of the one printed in p. 301, et seq. of this volume.

¶ Here after foloweth ye batayll of Egyngecourte & the great sege of Rone by kynge Henry of Monmouthe the fyfthe of the name that wan Gascoyne and Gyenne and Normandye.

GOD that alle this worlde dyde make
And dyed for us upon a tree,
Saue England for Mary thy mother's sake,
As yu art stedfast God in trynyte;
And saue Kynge Henry soule I beseche ye
That was full gracyouse and good with all,
A courtyouse knyght and Kynge ryall.
Of Henry the fyfthe noble man of warre
Thy dedes may neuer forgoten be,
Of knyghthod thou were the very lodestarre,
In thy tyme Englande floured in prosperyte,
Thou mortall myrrour of all chevalry,
Though thou be not set amonge ye worthyes nyne,
Yet wast thou a conqueroure in thy tyme,
Our Kynge sende in to Fraunce full rathe
His harraude that was good and sure,
He desyred his herytage for to haue,
That is, Gascoyne and Gyen and Normandye;
He bad the Dolphyne delyuer it shulde be his
All that belongyd to the fyrste Edwarde,
And yf he sayd me nay I wys,
I will get it with dent of swerde.
But than answered the Dolphyne bolde
By our inbassatours sendynge agayne,
'Me thynke that youre Kynge is not so olde,
Warres great for to mayntayne;
Grete well,' he sayd, 'your comely Kynge,

That is bothe gentyll and small,
A tun full of tenys balles I wyll hym send
For to play hym therewithall.
Than bethought our lordes all
In Fraunce they wolde no lenger abyde,
They toke theyr leve, bothe greate and small,
And home to Englande gan they ryde;
To oure Kynge they tolde theyr tale to the ende,
What that the Dolphyne dyde to them saye;
'I wyll hym thanke than,' sayd the Kynge,
'By the grace of God yf I may.'
Yet by his owne mynde this Dolphyne bolde,
To our Kyng he sent agaynne hastely,
And prayed hym trewes for to holde
For Jesus' love that dyed on a tree.
'Nay than,' sayd our comely Kynge,
For in to Fraunce wyll I wynde,
The Dolphyne angre I trust I shall
And suche a tenys ball I shall hym sende
That shall bere down the hye rofe of his hall.'
The Kynge at Westmynster lay that tyme,
And all his Lordes euerychone,
As they dyde set them downe to dyne,
'Lordynges,' he sayd 'by saynt John,
To Fraunce I thynke to take my waye,
Of good councell I you praye,
What is your wyll that I shall done,
Shewe me shortly without delay?'
The Duke of Clarence answered sone,
And sayd 'my lege I councell you soo,'
And other Lordes sayd 'we thynke it for the best
With you to be redy for to goo,
Whyle that our lyves may endure & lest.'
'Gramercy, Syrs,' the Kynge gan say,
'Our ryght I trust than shal be wonne,
And I wyll quyte you yf I may;
Therfore I warne you bothe olde and yonge,
To make you redy without delay,
To Southampton to take your waye,
At Saynt Peter's tyde at Lammas,
For by the grace of God, and yf I maye,
Ouer the salte see I thynke to passe.'
Great ordynau'ce of gunnes the Kynge let make,
And shypte them at London all at ones,
Bowes and arowes in chestes were take,
Speres and bylles with yren gunstones,
And armynge dagars made of ther nones,

With swerdes and bucklers that were full sure,
And harneys bryght that strokes wolde endure,
The Kynge to Southampton than dyde ryde,
With his Lordes for no lenger wolde he dwell.
Fyftene C. fayre shyppes there dyde hym abyde,
With goodly sayles and topcastell,
Lordes of Fraunce our Kynge they solde,
For a myllyant of golde, as I harde say;
By Englande lytell pryse they tolde,
Therfore theyr songe was welawaye,
Bytwene Hampton and the Yle of Wyght
These goodly shippes lay there at rode,
With mast yardes acrosse full semely of syght,
Ouer all the hauen sprede abrode,
On euery paues a crosse rede,
The wastes decked with serpentynes stronge,
Saynt George's stremers spred ouer hede
With the arms of Englande hangynge all alonge,
Oure Kynge full hastely to his shyppe yede,
And all other Lordes of euery degree,
Euery shyp wayed his anker in dede,
With the tyde to hast them to the see,
They hoysed theyr sayles, sayled a lofte,
A goodly syght it was to see,
The wynde was goode and blew but softe,
And fourth they went in the name of the trynyte,
Theyr course they toke towarde Normandy,
And passed ouer in a daye and a nyght,
So in the seconde mornonge yerly,
Of that contrye they had a syght,
And euer they drew nere the coste,
Of the day glad were they all,
And whan they were at the shore almost,
Euery shyp his anker let fall;
With theyr takyls they lau'ched many a longe bote
And ouer hache threw them in to the streame,
A thousande shortly they sawe aflote,
With men of armes that lyth dyde leme;
Our Kynge landed at Cottaunses w'out delay,
On oure lady even thassumpcyon,
And to Hartflete they toke the way,
And mustered fayre before the towne,
Our Kynge his banner there dyde splay,
With standerdes bryght and many penowne,
And there he pyght his tente adowne,
Full well broydered with armory gaye;
Fyrst our comely Kynge's tente with the crowne,

And all other Lordes in good aray.
'My brother Clarence,' the Kynge dyde say,
'The toures of the towne wyll I kepe
With her doughters and her maydens gay,
To wake the Frenchemen of theyr slepe.
London,' he sayd, 'shall with hym mete,
And my gunnes that lyeth fayre upon the grene,
For they shall playe withe Harfflete
A game at tennys, as I wene.
Goo we too game for goddes grace,
My chyldren be redy everychone,'
For euery great gunne that there was,
In his mouthe he had a stone.
The Capytayne of Herfflet soone anone
Unto our Kynge he sent hastely,
To knowe what his wyll was to done,
For to cume thyther with suche a meny.
'Delyuer me the towne,' the Kynge sayd.
'Nay,' sayd ye Capytayne, 'by God and by Saynt Denys,'
'Then shall I wynne it,' sayd our Kynge,
'By the grace of God and of his goodnes,
Some hard tennys balles I have hither brought,
Of marble and yren made full rounde,
I swere by Jesu that me dere bought,
They shall bete the wallys to the grounde.
Than sayd the greate gunne,
Holde felowes we go to game,
Thanked be Mary, and Jesu her sone,
They dyde the Frenchemen moche shame.
'Fyftene afore,' sayd London, tho
Her balles full fayre she gan out throwe.
'Thyrty,' sayd ye seconde gun, 'I wyll wyn and I may.'
There as the wall was moost sure,
They bare it downe without nay.
The Kynges doughter sayd, 'herken this playe,
Harken maydens nowe this tyde
Fyue and forty we have it is no nay.'
They bete downe the walles on euery syde.
The Normandes sayd, 'let us not abyde,
But go we in haste by one assent.'
Where so euer the gun stones do glyde,
Our houses in Herfflete is all to rent.
The Englysshemen our bulwarkes haue brent.
And women cryed, alas! that euer they were borne.
The Frenchemen sayd, 'now be we shent
By us now the towne is forlorne,
It is best now theyrfore,

That we beseche this Euglysshe Kynge of grace,
For to assayle us no more,
Leste he deystroy us in this place;
Than wyll we byd the Dolphyne make hym redy,
Or elles this towne delyuered must be.'
Messengers went fourth by and by,
And to oure Kynge come they.
The Lorde Corgraunte certaynly,
For he was Capytayne of the place,
And Gelam Bowser with hym dyde hye,
With other Lordes more and lusse;
And whan they to our Kynge come were,
Full lowly set them on theyr kne.
'Hayle! comely Kynge,' gan they saye,
'Cryste saue the from aduersyte,
Of truse we wyll beseche the
Untyl that it be sunday noone,
And yf we may not recouered be,
We wyll delyuer the towne.'
Than sayd our Kynge full soone,
'I graunte you grace in this tyde,
One of you shall fourthe anone,
And the ren'aunt shall with me abyde,
Theyr Capytayne toke his nexte waye,
And to Rone faste gan he ryde.'
The Dolphyne he had thought there to founde,
But he was gone, he durste not abyde.
For helpe the Capytayne besought that tede,
'Herfflete is lost for euer and aye,
The walles ben beten downe on euery syde,
That we no lenger kepe it may,
Of counseyll all he dyde them pray,
What is your wyll, that I may done,
We must ordeyne the Kynge batayll by Sonday,
Or elles delyuer hym the towne.'
The Lordes of Rone to gyther dyde rowne,
And bad the towne shulde openly yelde,
The Kyng of Englande, fareth as a lyon,
We wyll not mete with hym in the felde.
The Capytayne wolde than no lenger abyde,
And towarde Harfflete came he ryght,
For so faste he dyde ryde
That he was there the same nyght,
And whan he to oure Kynge dyde come,
Lowly he set hym on his kne,
'Hayle comely Prynce,' than dyde he say,
'The grace of God is with the,

Here haue I brought the keys all,
Of Harfflete that is so royal a cytye,
All is yours bothe chambre and hall,
And at your wyll for to be.'
'Thanked be Jesu,' sayd our Kynge,
'And Mary his mother truely;
Myne uncle Dorset without lettynge,
Capytayne of Herfflete shall he be,
And all that is within the cytye,
A whyle yet they shall abyde,
To amende the walles in euery degre,
That is beten downe on euery syde.
And after that they shall out ryde,
To other townes ouer all,
Wyfe nor chylde shall not there abyde,
But haue them forthe bothe great and small;
One and twenty M. men myght se,
Whan they went out full sore dyde wepe;
The great gunnes and ordynaunce truely,
Was brought into Herfflete,
Great sykenes amonge our hoste was in good fay,
Whiche kylled many of our Englysshemen;
There dyed by yonde vii score upon a daye,
Alyue there was lefte but thousandes x.
Our Kynge hym selfe in to the castle yede,
And rested hym there as longe as his wyll was,
At the laste he sayd, 'Lordes, so God me spede
Towarde Calayes I thynke to passe.'
After that Herfflete was gotten that royall cytye,
Through the grace of God Omnypotente,
Our comely Kynge made hym redy soone,
And towarde Calayes fourthe he wente;
My brother Glocestre veramente,
Here wyll we no lenger abyde,
And cosyn of Yorke this is oure entent,
With us fourth ye shall thys tyde.
My cosyn Huntyngdon with us shall ryde,
And the Erle of Oxenforde with you thre,
The Duke of Southfolke by our tyde,
He shall come fourthe with his meny,
And the Erle of Deuounshyre sykerly,
Syr Thomas Harpynge that neuer dyde fayle,
The Lorde Broke that come hartely,
And Syr John' of Cornewall,
Syr Gylberde Umfrey that wolde vs auayle.
And the Lorde Clyfforde so God me spede,
Syr Wyllyam Bouser that wyll not fayle,

For all thy wyll helpe yf it be nede,
Oure Kynge rode fourth, blessyd mought he be,
He spared neyther dale ne downe,
By waters greate fast rode he,
Tyll he came to the water of sene;
The Frenchemen threwe the brydge adowne,
That ouer the water they myght not passe;
Our Kyng made hym redy than,
And to the toure of Turreyn wente more and lasse;
The Frenchemen our Kynge abought becast,
With batayles stronge on euery syde;
The Duke of Orlyaunce sayd in haste,
'The Kynge of Englande shall abyde,
Who gave hym leve this waye to passe,
I trust that I shall hym begyle
Full longe or he come to Calays.'
The Duke of Burbone answeryd sone,
And swere 'by God and by Saynt Denys,
We wyll play them euerychone,
These lordes of Englande at the tenys.'
'Theyr Gentylmen I swere by Saynt John,
And archers we wyll sell them greate plentye,
And so wyll we ryd them sone,
Six for a peny of our monye.'
Than answered the Duke of Bare,
Wordes that were of greate pryde;
'By God,' he sayd, 'I wyll not spare
Ouer all the Englysshemen for to ryde,
If that they dare vs abyde,
We wyll ouerthrowe them in fere,
And take them prysoners in thys tyde,
Than come home agayne to our dynere.'
Henry our Kynge, that was so good,
He prepared there full ryally;
Stakes he let hewe in a wood,
And set them before his archers verely;
The Frenchemen our ordynaunce gan espye,
They that we ordeyned for to ryde,
Lyghted adowne with sorowe truely,
So on theyr fote fast gan abyde.
Our Kynge wente vp vpon an hyll hye,
And loked downe to the valyes lowe;
He sawe where the Frenchemen came hastely,
As thycke as euer dyde hayle or snowe.
Than kneled oure Kyng downe in that stounde,
And all his men on euery syde,
Euery man made a crosse and kyssed the grounde,

And on theyr fete faste ganne abyde.
Our Kynge sayd, ‘ syrs what tyme of the day,’
‘ My lege,’ they sayd, ‘ it is nye pryme,’
Than go we to our iourney,
By the grace of Jesu it is good tyme,
For sayntes that lye in theyr shryne,
To God for vs they be prayenge,
All the relygyouse of Englande in this tyme,
Ora pro nobis for vs they synge.
Saynt George was sene ouer our hoste,
Of very trouthe this syght men dyde se,
Downe was he sente by the holygoste,
To gyue our Kynge the vyctory;
Than blewe the trompetes merely,
These two batayles to gyther yede,
Our archers stode vp full hartely,
And make the Frenchemen fast to blede;
Theyr arowes went fost without ony let,
And many shot they through out,
Thorugh habergyne, brestplate, and bassenet,
A xi. M. were slayne in that route;
Our gracyouse Kynge as I well knowe,
That day he fought with his owne hande,
He spared neyther hye ne lowe;
There was neuer Kynge in no lande
That euer dyd better on a day;
Wherfore Englande maye synge a songe,
Laus deo may we say;
And other prayers euer amonge.
The Duke of Orlyaunce without nay,
That day was taken prysonere;
The Duke of Burbone also in fere,
And also the Duke of Bare truely,
Syr Bergygaunte he gan hym yelde,
And other Lordes of Fraunce many;
Lo thus our comely Kynge conquered the fyld,
Be the grace of God omnypotent,
He toke his presoners bothe olde and yonge,
And towarde Calayes fourth he went;
He shypped there with good entent,
To Caunterbury full fayre he passed,
And offered to Saynt Thomas shryne;
And through Kent he rode in haste,
To Eltam he cam all in good tyme,
And ouer blakeheth as he was rydynge,
Of the Cytye of London he was ware,
‘ Hayle ryall Cytye,’ sayd our Kynge,

'Cryste kepe the euer from sorowe and care.'
And than he gaue that noble Cyte his blessyng,
He prayed Jesu it myght well fare;
To Westmynster dyde he ryde,
And the Frenche presoners with hym also,
He raunsommed them in that tyde,
And agayne to theyr contrye he let them goo;
Thus of this matter I make an ende,
To theffecte of the batayll haue I gone,
For in this boke I cannot comprehende,
The greatest batayll of all called ye sege of Rone,
For that sege lasted iii. yere and more,
And there a rat was at xl. pens,
For in the Cytye the people hongered sore,
Women and chyldred for faute of mete were lore,
And some for payne bare bones were gnawynge,
That at her brestes had ii. chyldren soukynge;
Of the sege of Rone it to wryte were pytye,
It is a thynge so lamentable,
Yet euery hye feest our Kynge of his charytye,
Gaue them meate to theyr bodyes comfortable,
And at the laste the towne wanne w^e^out fable,
Thus of all as now I make an ende,
To the blysse of heuen God oure soules sende.

Thus endeth ye batayll of Egyngecourt
Inpryntyd at Londo' in Foster lane
in Saynt Leonardes parysshe
by me John' Skot.

Bayerische
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No. XX.

A BALLAD ON THE EXPEDITION INTO FRANCE, IN 1415.

[The following ballad was obligingly communicated by Bertram Mitford, of Mitford Castle, in Northumberland, Esquire, who wrote it from the dictation of a very aged relative.]

As a King lay musing on his bed,
He thought himself upon a time,
Those tributes due from the French King,
That had not been paid for so long a time,
Fal, lal, lal, fal larall, larall, la.

He called unto his lovely Page,
His lovely Page away came he:
Saying, you must go to the French King,
Those tributes that are due to me.
Fal, &c.

Away, away, went this lovely Page,
Away, away, and away went he;
Until he came to the King of France,
Where he fell down on his bended knee.
Fal, &c.

My Master he does greet you well,
He doth greet you most heartily;
If you don't send him those tributés home,
O in French land you will soon him see.
Fal, &c.

Your Master's young, and of tender years,
Not fit to come within my degree;
Here take him home these three tennis balls,
And in French land he ne'er dare me see.
Fal, &c.

Away, away, went this lovely Page,
Away, away, and away went he:
Until he came to our English King,
When he fell down on his bended knee.
Fal, &c.

What news, what news, my lovely Page?
What news, what news, hast thou brought to me?
I've brought such news from the French King,
That with him I'm sure you can ne'er agree.

Fal, &c.

He says, you are young, and of tender years,
Not fit to come within his degree;
He sent you home these three tennis balls,
And in French land you ne'er dare him see.

Fal, &c.

Go, 'cruit me Cheshire and Lancashire,
And Derby hills that are so free,
Not a married man, nor a widow's son,
For there was a jovial brave company.

Fal, &c.

They recruited Cheshire and Lancashire,
And Derby hills that are so free,
Not a married man, nor a widow's son,
For there was a jovial brave company.

Fal, &c.

O! then we march'd into French land,
With drums and trumpets so merrily;
The first that spoke was the French King,
Lo, yonder comes proud King Henry.

Fal, &c.

The first that fired it was the French,
They kill'd our English men so free,
But we kill'd ten thousand of their men,
And the rest of them were forced to flee.

Fal, &c.

O! then we march'd to Paris' gates,
With drums and trumpets so merrily:
The first that spoke was the French King,
Lord a mercy on my poor men and me.

Fal, &c.

O go and take your tributes home,
Five tons of gold I will give thee;
And the fairest flower in all French land,
To the rose of England I will give free.

Fal, &c.

N° XXI.

ANOTHER VERSION OF THE PRECEDING POEM.

As the King lay musing on his bed,
He bethought himself upon a time,
Of a tribute which was due from France
That had not been paid for so long a time.
That had not, &c.

O then call'd he his lovely Page,
His lovely Page then call'd he;
Who when he came before the King,
Lo, he fell down on his bended knee.
Lo, he fell down, &c.

Welcome, welcome, thou lovely Page,
Welcome, welcome, art thou here;
Go sped thee now to the King of France,
And greet us well to him so dear.
And greet us well, &c.

And when thou com'st to the King of France,
And hast greeted us to him so dear;
Thou then shall ask for the tribute due,
That has not been paid for many a year.
That has not been, &c.

Away then went this lovely Page,
Away, away, O then went he;
And when he came to the King in France,
Lo, he fell down on his bended knee.
Lo, he fell down, &c.

What news, what news, thou Royal Page?
What news, what news, dost thou bring me?
I bring such news from our good King,
That him and you may long agree.
That him and you, &c.

My Master then does greet you well,
Does greet you well, and happy here;
And asks from you the tribute due,
That has not been paid this many a year.
That has not been, &c.

Your Master's young, and of tender years,
Not fit to come into our degree;
Therefore I'll send him three tennis balls,
That he with them may learn to play.
That he with them, &c.

Away, away, went this lovely Page,
Away, away, then away went he,
Until he came to our good King,
When he fell down on his bended knee.
When he fell down, &c.

What news, what news, my lovely Page?
What news, what news, hast thou brought to me?
I've brought such news from the French King,
That he and you can ne'er agree.
That he and you can, &c.

He says, you are young and of tender years,
Not fit to come into his degree:
Therefore he'll send you three tennis balls,
That you with them may learn to play.
That you with them, &c.

O then in wroth rose our noble King,
In anger great then up rose he;
I'll send such balls to the King in France,
As Frenchmen ne'er before did see.
As Frenchmen, &c.

Go 'cruit me Cheshire and Lancashire,
And Derby hills that are so free;
No married man, nor no widow's son,
No widow's curse shall go with me.
No widow's curse, &c.

They recruited Cheshire and Lancashire,
And Derby hills that were so free;
Tho' no married man, nor no widow's son,
They recruited three thousand men and three.
They recruited three, &c.

And when the King he did them see,
He greeted them most heartily:
Welcome, welcome, thou trusty band,
For thou art a jolly brave company.
For thou art, &c.

Go, now make ready our royal fleet,
Make ready soon and get to sea;
I then will shew the King of France,
When on French ground he does me see.
When on French ground, &c.

And when our King to Southampton came,
There the ships for him did wait awhile;
Sure such a sight was ne'er seen before,
By any one in this our isle.
By any one, &c.

Their course they then made strait for France,
With streamers gay and sails well fill'd;
But the grandest ship of all that went,
Was that in which our good King sail'd.
Was that, &c.

O then we march'd into French land,
With drums and trumpets right merrily;
The Frenchmen they were so dismay'd,
Such a sight they ne'er did wish to see.
Such a sight, &c.

The first that fired it was the French,
They kill'd our English men so free;
But we kill'd ten thousand of the French,
And the rest of them they ran away.
And the rest of them, &c.

O then we march'd to Paris' gates,
While our trumpets sounded merrily;
The first that spoke was the French King,
Lo, yonder comes proud King Henry.
Lo, yonder comes, &c.

Our loving Cousin, we greet you well,
From us thou now hast nought to fear;
We seek from you our tribute due,
That has not been paid for this many a year.
That has not been, &c.

O go and take your tributes home,
Five tons of gold I will give to thee;
And the fairest flower in all French land,
To the rose of England shall go free.
To the rose, &c.

N° XXII.

THE CAMBRO BRITON'S BALLAD OF AGINCOURT.

BY MICHAEL DRAYTON.

FAIR stood the wind for France,
When we our sails advance,
Nor now to prove our chance,
Longer will tarry;
But putting to the main,
At Caux, the mouth of Seine,
With all his martial train,
Landed King HARRY.

And taking many a fort,
Furnish'd in warlike sort,
Marcheth tow'rds Agincourt,
In happy hour;
Skirmishing day by day,
With those that stop'd his way,
Where the French gen'ral lay,
With all his power.

Which in his height of pride,
King HENRY to deride,
His ransom to provide,
To the King sending:
Which he neglects the while,
As from a nation vile,
Yet with an angry smile,
Their fall portending.

And turning to his men,
Quoth our brave HENRY then,
Though they to one be ten,
Be not amazed:
Yet have we well begun,
Battles so bravely won,
Have ever to the sun,
By Fame been raised.

And for my self (quoth he,)
This my full rest shall be,
England ne'er mourn for me,
Nor more esteem me:
Victor I will remain,
Or on this earth lie slain,
Never shall she sustain,
Loss to redeem me.

Poictiers and Cressy tell,
When most their pride did swell,
Under our swords they fell,
No less our skill is:
Than when our Grandsire great,
Claiming the regal seat,
By many a warlike feat,
Lop'd the French lillies.

The Duke of York so dread,
The eager vanward led;
With the main HENRY sped,
Among'st his hench-men;
Exeter had the rear,
A braver man not there,
O Lord, how hot they were,
On the false French-men!

They now to fight are gone,
Armour on armour shone,
Drum now to drum did groan,
To hear was wonder;
That with cries they make,
The very earth did shake,
Trumpet to trumpet spake,
Thunder to thunder.

Well it thine age became,
O noble Erpingham,
Which didst the signal aim,
To our hid forces;
When from a meadow by,
Like a storm suddenly,
The English archery
Stuck the French horses.

With Spanish yew so strong,
Arrows a cloth-yard long,
That like to serpents stung,
Piercing the weather;
None from his fellow starts,
But playing manly parts,
And like true English hearts,
Stuck close together.

When down their bows they threw,
And forth their bilbows drew,
And on the French they flew,
Not one was tardy;
Arms were from shoulders sent,
Scalps to the teeth were rent,
Down the French peasants went,
Our men were hardy.

This while our noble King,
His broad sword brandishing,
Down the French host did ding,
As to o'erwhelm it;
And many a deep wound lent,
His arms with blood besprent,
And many a cruel dent
Bruised his helmet.

Glou'ster, that Duke so good,
Next to the royal blood,
For famous England stood,
With his brave brother;
Clarence, in steel so bright,
Though but a maiden knight,
Yet in that furious fight,
Scarce such another.

Warwick in blood did wade,
Oxford the foe invade,
And cruel slaughter made,
Still as they ran up;
Suffolk his axe did ply,
Beaumont and Willoughby
Bare them right doughtily,
Ferrers and Fanhope.

Upon Saint Crispin's day
Fought was this noble fray,
Which fame did not delay,
To England to carry;
O, when shall Englishmen
With such acts fill a pen,
Or England breed again,
Such a King HARRY!

N° XXIII.

ADDITIONAL CHARTER IN BRIT. MUS. No. 69.

A tous ceulx qui ces l'res verr' ou orront. Nicolas de la Mote garde du seel des oblig' de la Viconte de Rouen salut'. Sav' faisons que par devant Robert le Vigneron clerc tabell jure en la d'te Viconte fu pur Colin Govel Maistre de la nef Jehan Langage, du nombre dez treize valleniers qui ont este mis sus au cay de Roüen pour fe' guerre aux ennemis Angloiz ten' siege par mer et par t're devant la ville de Harefleu, lequel confessa av' eu et receu de Rob^{e}rt des Marquez receveur a Rouen des aides ordoniz pour la guerre la some de cent sept livres dix soulz en prest et paiement sur les gaig' de lui Maistre dun contremaistre quatre carteniers et xxx mariniers de sa compaigne dess'vis et a dess'vir en guerres du dit S^{r} en la compaign' et soulz le gouv'nem't de Monsr ladmiral de France alencontre des diz ennemis. De la quelle some de cvij. li. x.s dess' d'te le dit Govel se tient a bien content. Et en quieta le Roy n're S^{r} le dit Receveur & touz aut^{e}s. En tesmoign' de ce nous a la relacon' du dit Tabell avons mis a ces l'res le seel des d'tes oblig'. Ce fu fait lan de grace mil iiij & quinze le xiiij jour de Septembre.

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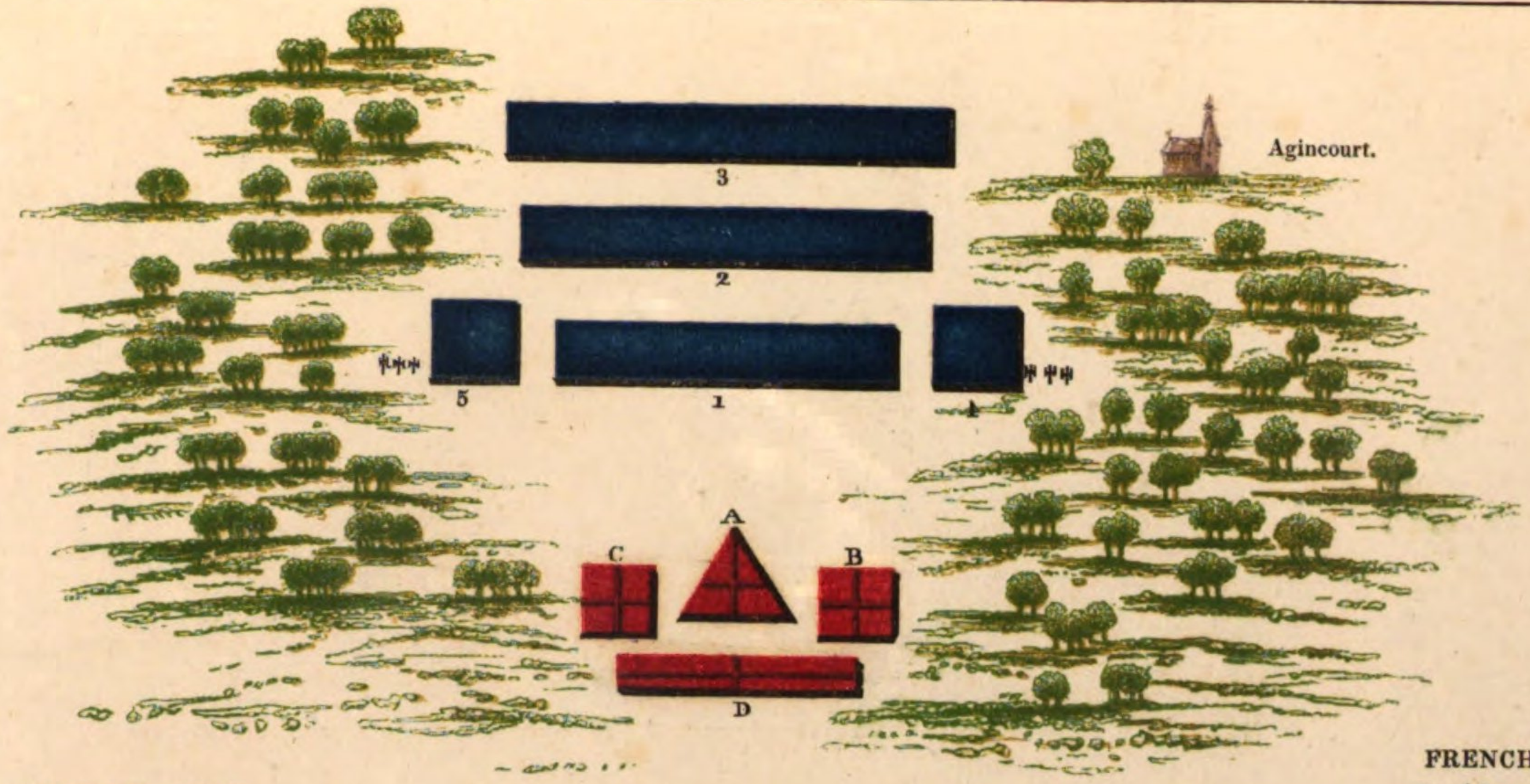


ENGLISH ARMY.

A. Archers.
B. Advanced Guard, as right wing; under the Duke of York.
C. Rear Guard, as left wing; under the Lord Camoys.
D. Main Body, under Henry in person.

FRENCH ARMY.

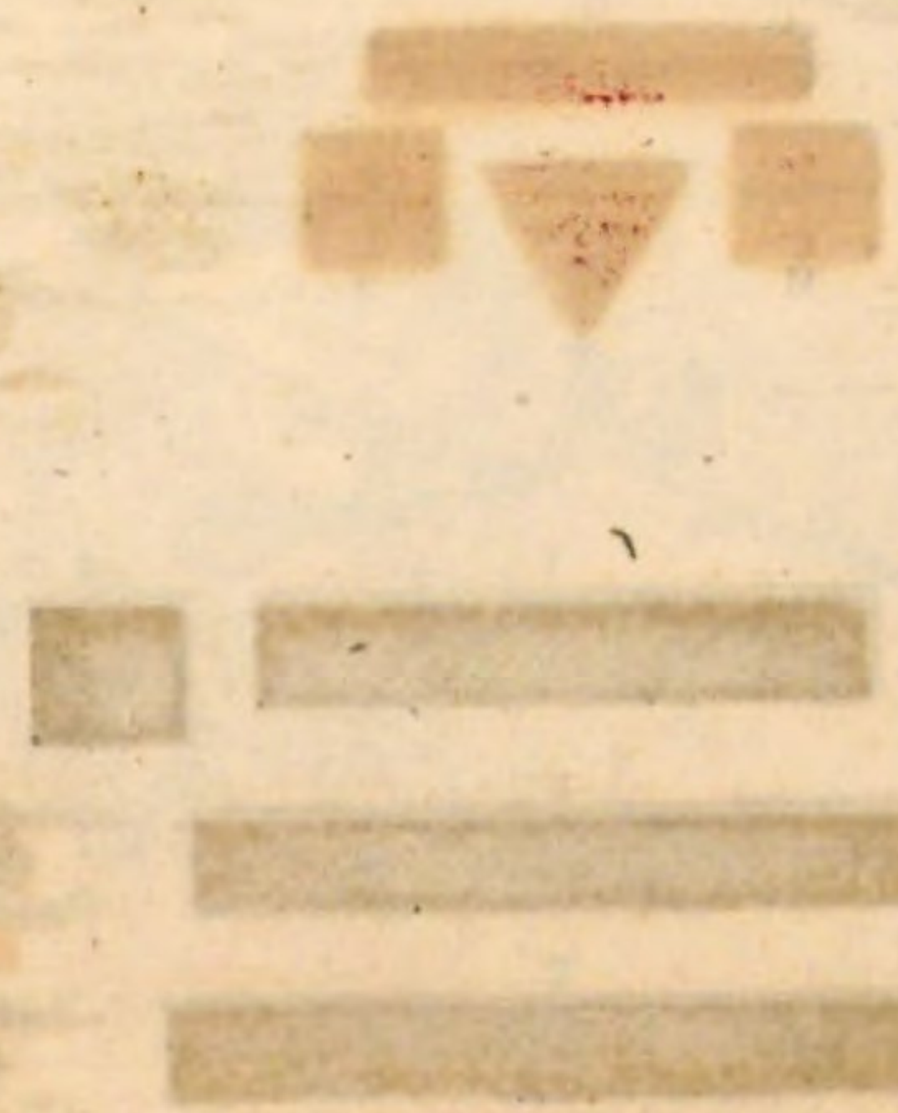
1. Advanced Guard.
2. Main Body.
3. Rear Guard.
4. } Wings.
5. }
* Artillery.

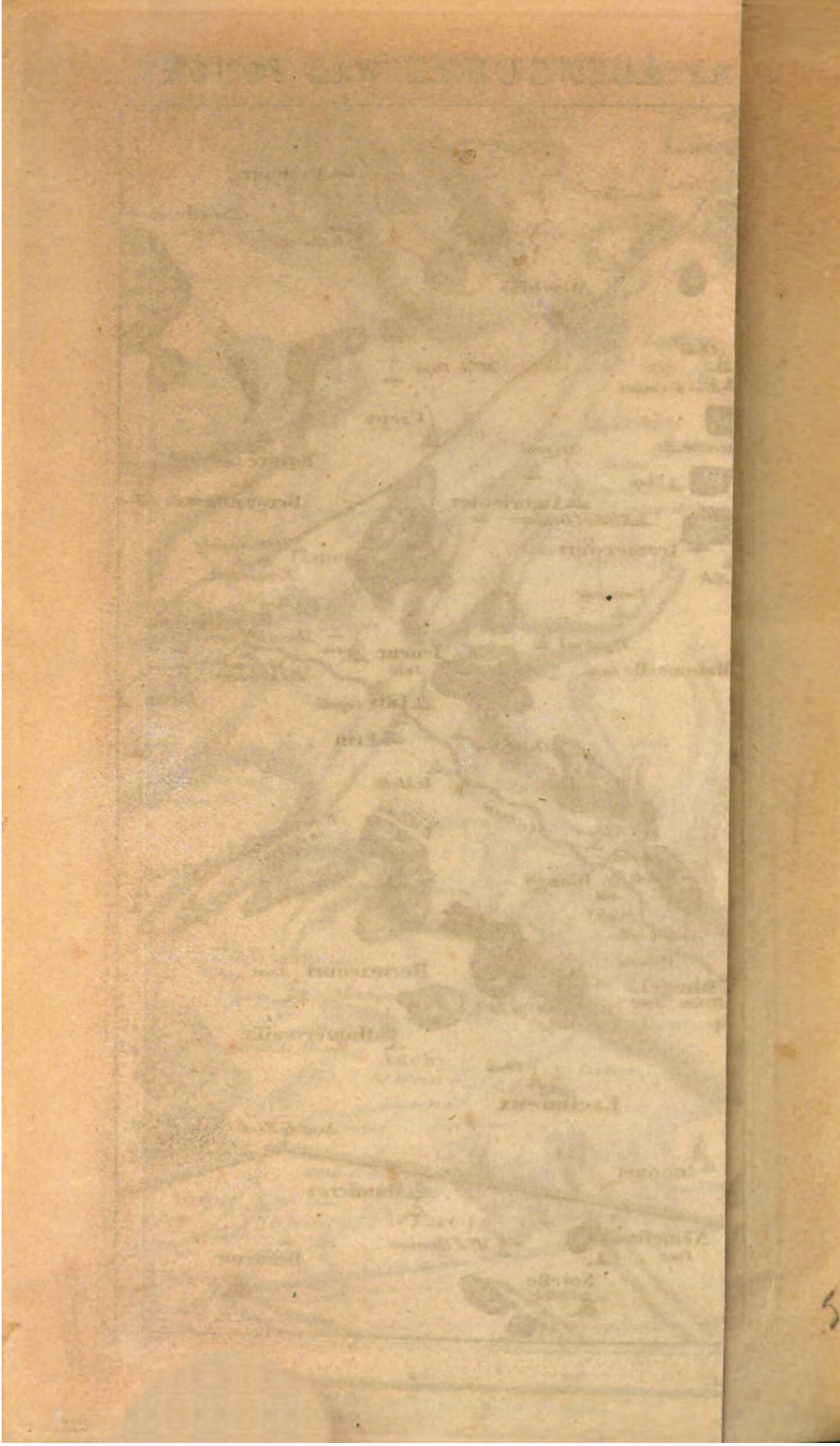
Baggage.

Maisoncelles.

POSITION OF THE ENGLISH AND FRENCH ARMIES,

ON THE MORNING OF THE 25TH OF OCTOBER, 1415.





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